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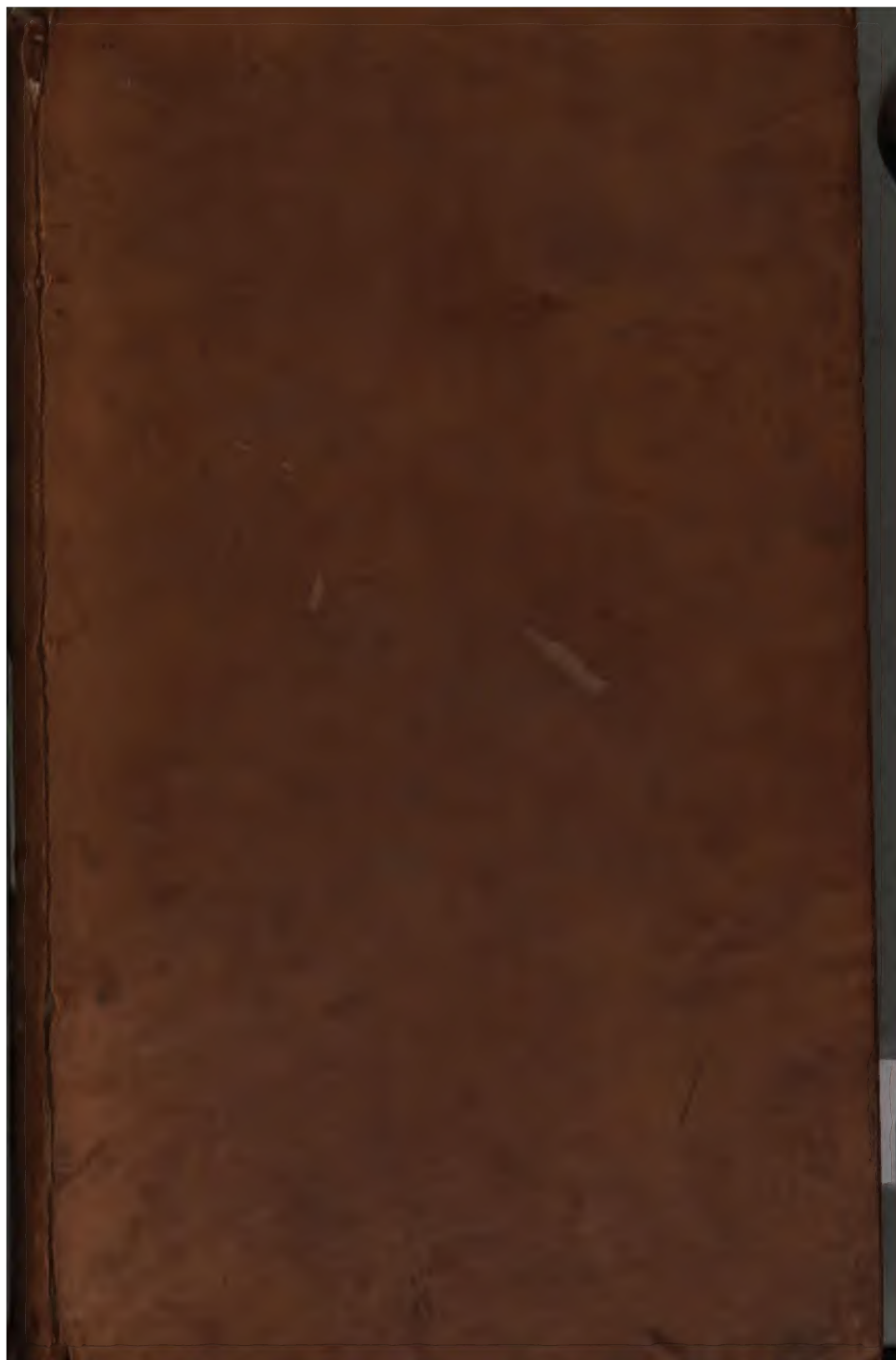
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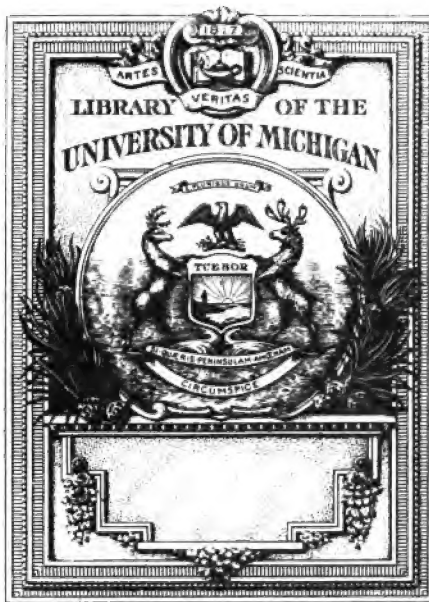
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W. Spencer



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THE
HISTORY

Life of King Henry the Second,

And of the AGE in which he lived.

I N

FIVE BOOKS.

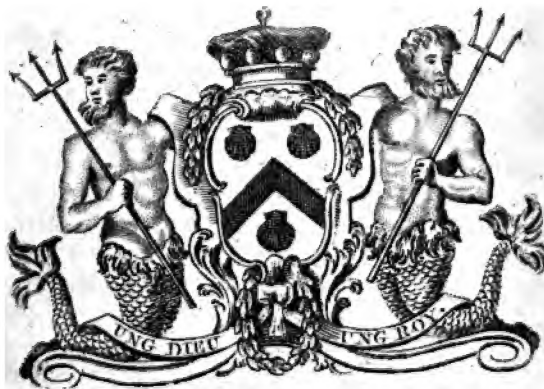
To which is prefixed,

A History of the Revolutions of ENGLAND,

From the Death of EDWARD the Confessor, to the Birth
of HENRY the Second.

By GEORGE Lord LYTTTELTON.

VOL. III.



DUBLIN,

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
L I F E
O F
King Henry the Second.
B O O K IV.

WHEN the king was informed that Reginald de Fitzurse, Hugh de Morville, Richard Brito, and William de Tracey, had suddenly left his court, with an intention to go, without his leave, into England, (which he was apprised of the morning after their departure) he apprehended some mischief, and dispatched immediate orders, to all the sea-ports of Normandy, that they should be stopt and brought back to the castle of Bure, where he was keeping his Christmas: but unhappily, they had found the wind so fair to carry them over, that, before his messengers, with the utmost haste they could make, were able to get thither, they had all past the sea. After endeavouring to prevent any violence being used, by these gentlemen, against Becket, without a proper warrant of legal authority, he resolved, by the advice of a council of lords, which he had summoned, on hearing the complaints laid before him

Vit. S.T. præfix. Epistolæ. De Gestis post Martyrium, c. 9.

A. D. 1172

Ibidem, p. 120, 143. 144. Stephanides, p. 78, 79.

VOL. III.

B

him

him by the archbishop of York, to send instantly into England his chief justiciary of Normandy, Richard de Humet, with orders to the young king for the arresting of Becket, if that prelate would not yield to what should be required of him on the part of the crown. This lord arrived in England before the murder was committed, and, as soon as he landed, dispatched Hugh de Gundeville and William Fitz-john to the palace at Winchester, where the young king then resided, with directions to take there some knights of the household, and go with them to Canterbury, as secretly as they could, that their orders might be executed without any opposition; while he himself had the care of diligently guarding the coasts and sea-ports, lest Becket, on some notice of what was intended, should fly out of the kingdom. These measures appear to have been well concerted; but, before they could take effect, the blow was struck, by which the justice of the crown was prevented, the reputation of the king was foully stained, and his affairs were more embroiled, than they could have been by any act, however outrageous, of the living archbishop. The manner, the time, the place, all the circumstances of the assassination, must have aggravated the guilt and increased the horror of it in the minds of the people. Yet no tumult ensued in any part of the kingdom! No man sought to take vengeance on any of the murderers, or even to bring them to justice! After they had done their bloody deed, they ransacked the archiepiscopal palace at Canterbury, delivered all the papers and writings they found there to Ranulph de Broc, that he might carry them to the king in Normandy, and divided the other spoils among themselves, if we may believe some contemporary writers of Becket's life: but though this is affirmed in a private letter from one of them to the bishop of Poitiers, I cannot easily think that persons of such

Stephani-
des, p. 90.

Vita S. T.
præfix. Epif-
tolis, c. 20.
Epist. J. Sa-
risber. 286.

Joh. Sarisb.
Epist. 286.

such rank would add rapine and robbery to assassination. When they had executed all they thought proper to do, they left Canterbury and passed the night in the country; but the next morning they again assembled in arms without the walls of the city; at which the monks were alarmed, and, apprehending some outrage against the primate's dead body, made haste to inter it in the church. Nothing was done to disturb it; but soon afterwards the four knights departed out of Kent, and without even endeavouring to see the young king, or any of his ministers, went together to a castle which belonged to Hugh de Morville, at Knaresborough in Yorkshire, where they stayed many months, *not daring* (says Benedict, abbot of Peterborough) *to return to the court from whence they came*: a strong proof that their master had not given them any orders to do what they did, and that, instead of expecting any recompence from him, they feared his displeasure.

We learn from a letter which the bishop of Lisieux wrote to the pope, that Henry, on receiving the first account of the murder, broke out into loud and passionate lamentations; then appeared to be stupefied, then more immoderately renewed his complaints, "*changing* (says the bishop) *his royal majesty for sackcloth and ashes, and, during the course of three days, admitting no comfort, but seeming resolved to destroy himself by the excess of his sorrow.*" On the fourth day, he was roused by the pressing exhortations of his nobles and prelates, who prevailed upon him to assemble the lords of his council, and consult with them on the measures it would be proper to take in this emergency. By their advice, the above-mentioned letter from the bishop of Lisieux was written to the pope, and it was resolved that an embassy should be sent to his holiness as soon as possible. Henry also dispatched two of his chaplains to England, with

Vit. S. T.
præfix. Epist.
c. 22.
Epist. Joh.
Sarib. 286.

Benedict.
Abb. ad. ann.
1171.

Epist. 79. l. v.
E. Cod.
Vatic.

Hist. Quæ-
dripart. l. iv
de Gestis
post Martyr-
rium, c. 5.
Edit. Paris,
ann. 1495.

Epist. 59.
l. v.
E. Cod.
Vatic.

Vit. S. Th. m.
præfix. Epist.
p. 143.

orders to inform the convent of Canterbury of his grief for Becket's death, and abhorrence of the murder. They urged particularly his endeavours to stop the four knights as soon as he knew of their having left his court, and declared, in his name, that, lest the monks should conceive unjust suspicions of him, this was notified to them; but, if he had contracted any guilt, by any construction of the words he had spoken in his anger, which encouraged the assassins in their wicked enterprize, it would best be expiated by the prayers of that confraternity. They added, "that he commanded the archbishop's corpse to be honourably buried: *for, though, when living, that prelate had been his enemy, yet he would not prosecute him, when dead, but remitted to his soul whatever offences he had committed against him and against the royal dignity.*"

From these last words it appears, that Henry continued to think of Becket's behaviour as he had justly thought before, notwithstanding the sorrow he expressed for his murder; and certainly in these sentiments there was no inconsistency.

The bad effects he foresaw from so unhappy an end of his disputes with that prelate fixed on his mind such a gloom, that, until forty days had passed over, he abstained from all diversions, all exercise, and all business; he heard no causes, he received no petitions from his subjects; but remained solitary within the walls of his palace, often sighing, and repeating to himself these words, *alas! alas! that this mischief should have happened!*

In the mean time, Becket's friend and Alexander's legate in France, the archbishop of Sens, wrote to Alexander a letter full of rage against Henry, as the murderer of Becket: so did also the earl of Blois and Louis himself. The last called on the pope "to unsheath the sword of Peter, that it might

Hist. Quadripart. l. iv. c. 5.
Benedict. Abbas, t. i. p. 23.

Hoveden, pars ii. ad ann. 1151.
Epist. S. T. 80, 81. l. v.

*" might signally avenge the blood of the martyr
" of Canterbury, which, not so much for itself as
" for the catholick church, demanded vengeance."*

But the archbishop of Sens, without even waiting to receive the pope's answer, desired to begin the inflicting of that *vengeance*. For having, not long before, been ordered by Alexander to put under an interdict all the dominions of Henry in France, if that king did not execute his agreement with Becket, he now required the archbishop of Rouen, who had received the same mandate, to join with him in that act. But the Norman prelate declared, *he would do nothing to aggravate his master's affliction*, and very prudently interposed an appeal to the pope. Yet the other, by virtue of a clause in the mandate, which authorised either of them singly to proceed in the due execution thereof, if his colleague could not, or would not, concur with him therein, took on himself to pronounce the sentence of interdict, and enjoined the archbishop of Rouen, together with all the other bishops of Henry's territories in France, to see it obeyed. But to this injunction no regard was any where paid.

Epist. 82.
l. v.

Immediately afterwards, Henry's ambassadors to the pope set out on their journey, and, among them, as head of this very important embassy, the archbishop of Rouen : but, before he had past the French confines, finding himself quite unable, from his age and infirmities, to bear the fatigue of travelling any further, he returned to his see. The others went on, but proceeding very slowly, by reason of the difficulties which the season of the year and the passage of the mountains occasioned, they thought it necessary that one of them should be dispatched before the rest ; which commission was assigned to Richard Barre, a most zealous and diligent servant of Henry, who willingly undertook it. The bishops of Worcester and Eversux,
the

Benedict.
Abb. t. 1.
p. 20. Hoveden, Ann.
pars. iii. f. 391.

Epist. 83.
84. l. v.

the lord Robert de Neubourg, and four others of a rank inferior to these, having come as far as Sienna, were detained there some days, because from thence to Frascati, where Alexander then resided, all the roads were infested by the troops of a nobleman of the imperial faction.

Impatient of this delay, which they feared would be hurtful to the affairs of their master, the four inferior ministers left the city by night, and passing through unfrequented ways, over the tops of the mountains, with much labour and great danger, arrived at Frascati. There they found Richard Barre, who gave them a very disagreeable account of the temper of the court; Alexander having refused to admit him to his presence, and none of the cardinals having shewn him hitherto the least mark of regard. Nor were they themselves much better used: the pope would not see them; until, after long waiting and many humble entreaties, audience was granted to two of them, less suspected than the others of enmity to Becket, namely, the abbot of Valasse and the archdeacon of Lisieux. But, even on their first salutation of the pope in the name of their master, the clamours of the whole assembly interrupted and stopped them, *as if* (to use their own expression to the king on this subject) *the very mention of his name had been to that pontiff an abomination.* Yet in the evening, they secretly obtained of his Holiness a private and quiet hearing. Here they freely set forth the many great benefits conferred by Henry on Becket, and the many intemperate and ill-timed acts which had been done by that prelate against his royal dignity, in order to excuse the transport of passion, which they confessed had drawn from him some rash words, from whence occasion had been taken to commit the murder: but that he had given any order for committing of it, or that his will had concurred in it, they absolutely denied.

These

Epist. 83.
l. v.

Epist. 83.
84. l. v.

These things they repeated to his Holiness the next day before all the cardinals; in which consistory, two monks, who had been chaplains to Becket, and whom the archbishop of Sens had sent to the pope with private instructions, were allowed to plead against them. What answers the pope made, we are not told; but it appears that they found the credit of their adversaries so superior to theirs, that they almost despaired of success. Epist. 80.
l. v.

Indeed there was great cause for such despondency on their part; as, besides the many other reasons which gave the see of Rome a most interesting concern in the person of Becket, its own dignity was immediately and grievously affected by the murder of that prelate, who, at the time of his death, was invested with the character of its legate in England. Nor could they easily make the pope believe, that any servants of Henry would have dipped their hands in the blood of the primate of England, and a minister representing the sovereign pontiff, without a positive and express command from their master. Arduous therefore was the task to clear that prince of this deed before a judge so offended, and so exasperated against him; especially as the passions of the court of Rome were inflamed by those of the king of France, whose friendship and protection were necessary to Alexander against the Emperor and his party.

The Thursday before Easter, on which day it was customary for the pope to excommunicate all notorious offenders, was now nearly approaching; and Henry's ministers were alarmed by intelligence given to them, that his Holiness would include their master in the censures which he should then fulminate. On consulting with those cardinals who were most the king's friends, and imploring them to discover the intentions of the pontiff, they were assured that a resolution was immutably taken

to

to excommunicate the king by name, to put all his dominions, not only in France, but in England, under an interdict, and to confirm the sentence past against his bishops, by Becket, a little before that prelate's death. For the preventing of so great and so imminent a danger, and by the advice of their patrons in the sacred college, they thought it necessary to go beyond their instructions, and to notify to the pope, that the king in this affair would submit to his mandates; which declaration (they said) they were impowered to confirm by an oath in his presence, and added, that Henry would personally take one to that effect. This offer was accepted; they took the oath in the consistory, on the day they so much dreaded; and the pope was content with only excommunicating, by a general sentence, the murderers of Becket, and all who *advised, or abetted, or assented to their crime*, or who should knowingly receive or harbour them in their lands.

Epist. 84.
l. v.

Soon after Easter, the three ambassadors from Henry, who had stayed behind at Sienna, came to Frascati. They refused the oath taken by the other ministers of that prince: for which reason, the pope, not only confirmed the sentence of interdict which the archbishop of Sens had laid on Henry's dominions in France, but enjoined that king to abstain from entering any church. Yet he concluded with saying, he would send to him legates, to the intent *that they might see and know his humility*. This promise was of moment, as it held forth a beginning of negotiation; and soon afterwards, by the intervention of some of the cardinals, and (as it was said in those times) of a great sum of money, every thing that appeared hostile or severe against Henry, was mitigated or stopt. The pope, who had just before had ratified the sentence of excommunication, which Becket had
past

past against the two bishops of Salisbury and London, sent a mandate to absolve them under easy conditions, and wrote himself to the king (a favour obtained with many urgent supplications by the ministers of that prince) *to invite him to humility*; so that all was composed until the legates *à latere*, who were not yet appointed, should come into Normandy; the execution of the interdict on Henry's territories in France remained suspended, and things evidently tended to a reconciliation.

Hoveden, Annal. para ii. f. 302. ad ann. 1161. Epist. 84. l. v. ut supra.

While Henry's ministers at Frascati were doing him this good service, John of Salisbury, who, after the assassination of Becket, had continued at Canterbury, and many monks of the convent in confederacy with him, had recourse to a method of raising the character of their late friend and patron, which the ignorance of those times and propensity to believe the most incredible fictions rendered very successful. They gave out that such miracles were wrought by the intercession of this martyr and saint, as equalled, or even exceeded, the greatest contained in the legends of the church. At first, some of the ministers about the young king, apprehensive that disturbances might be excited among the common people, if this imposture went on, endeavoured to stop it by the royal authority: but, as they did not proceed to enforce the prohibition of spreading these reports by punishing the offenders, it proved ineffectual, and the delusion increased still more and more.

Johan. Sarisb. Epist. 286.

John of Salisbury, in a letter to the bishop of Poitiers, had the assurance to affirm, upon his own knowledge, "that, as well at the tomb of the
"primate, as at the place where he was slain, and
"before the great altar where his corpse was laid
"out, paralyticks were recovered, the blind saw,
"the deaf heard, the dumb spake, and the lame
"walked."

Ibidem.

If the king had been excommunicated for the murder of Becket, or if the pope had put his kingdom under an interdict, the activity of the monks in propagating these tales, and the simplicity of the laity in receiving their testimony without examination, might have done him great mischief: but the general expectation that he would be absolved when the legates should arrive, which naturally arose from the respite granted to him, and other marks of a favourable disposition, towards him appearing in the pope, checked and weakened the effects of this engine of sedition, so artfully raised against him by his enemies in this kingdom, to which he returned out of Normandy on the seventh day of August of this year eleven hundred and seventy-one, and where he found all things quiet.

Fortune now offered to him a fair opportunity, which his wisdom gladly seized, of presenting a new object to the attention of the publick, and shewing himself to his subjects in a very different light from that of a penitent, with all the majesty of a prince enlarging the bounds of his hereditary empire by the acquisition of a great and very ancient kingdom, which, though far more desirable than any other to England, had not ever, hitherto, been under the sceptre of any English monarch. He resolved to add Ireland to his regal dominions, and hoped to do it without resistance or bloodshed, by the terror of his arms, and from the general disposition of the Irish themselves to submit to his government. But, before I relate the particulars of his conduct in this important undertaking, it will be necessary to premise a short view of the history and state of that island, from the earliest times down to those, when the concurrence of many extraordinary events invited him thither.

The

The first accounts of the Irish, delivered by the Greeks, agree in representing them as a most savage people: nor did the Romans, who, after the conquest of Britain, had the means of obtaining a more perfect knowledge of them, contradict that description. Tacitus says, that the nature and the manners of the Irish differed not much from the British: and he adds, that the coasts and harbours of Ireland were better known than those of Britain, by a greater commerce and resort of merchants to them. The character therefore of those who inhabited the maritime parts of that island could not be unknown; and if (as he affirms) they resembled the Britons, they must have been very barbarous. The same historian informs us, that he often had heard his father-in-law, Julius Agricola, say, Ireland might be subdued, and kept, by one Roman legion and a few auxiliary troops. That commander had with him one of the kings of the Irish, whom a sedition had lately driven out of his country, and from whom, doubtless, he had gained, as well as from the number of merchants trading thither, a particular information of the state and strength of the island, which he was preparing to invade, when the jealousy of Domitian recalled him to Rome. If he had been permitted to pursue his enterprize, we may reasonably believe, on the credit of his judgment, that he would not have failed of success. Perhaps he trusted in part to the divisions of the Irish among themselves. Julius Solinus, who wrote in the second or third century, describes them as a nation *inhospitable and warlike, who made no distinction between good and bad actions*. Orosius, in the fifth century, calls the inhabitants of Ireland *Scots*, by which name they are mentioned in several Latin authors from the fifth till the eleventh century, and still later in some. Gildas, a learned British monk, who wrote in the year five hundred and

*La Vie
Agricola.*

C. 36. p. 62.

edit. Basil.

1538.

L. I. c. 2.

See also

Usher,

Eccles. Brit.

Antiquit.

C. 16.

De Excidio
Angliz,
edit. Gale,
p. 12. 13.

L. iii. p.
204. edit.
Amstelod.
cum notis
Cafaub.

See it in Mr.
O'Connor's
Dissert. on
the Hist. of
Ireland, p.
36, 37.

and sixty four, speaks of the Scots and the Picts, who conjointly in his time made war on the Britons, as differing in some of their manners, but agreeing in a cruel thirst of blood and a barbarous mode of dress. Yet all these accounts are rejected by modern Irish writers, as coming from strangers ill informed, or hostile to their nation. And, certainly, if they have any authentick relations from contemporary historians of their own country, the authority of such must prevail over these, and from them chiefly we must learn the history of Ireland as far back as they go. Mere tradition, indeed, if carried higher than the memory of a few generations, deserves little regard; but the Irish affirm that their ancestors had an alphabet, not derived from the Roman, but brought over to Ireland, a thousand years before Christ, by a colony out of Spain: and we know from Strabo, a writer of the most undoubted credit, that in his time all the Spaniards had the use of letters. He likewise mentions the Turduli, or Turdetani, a people of Bætica, as the most learned among them, "*these having (as they said) written monuments of antiquity, and poems, and laws composed in verse, for six thousand years past.*" It is needless to observe how greatly they exceeded the bounds of truth in this boast: but the Tyrians, who traded, in ancient times, to their country, might have early instructed them in the art of writing; and the Carthaginians, who were afterwards settled in Spain, might have communicated to all the other Spaniards the knowledge and use of their letters. A colony therefore from Bætica, or any part of the western coasts of Spain, may have brought into Ireland the Punic or Phœnician characters: but the alphabet, called by the Irish Bethluis-níon, appears to be the Roman alphabet differently arranged and reduced to the number of only eighteen letters, with the addition of some compounds, and with small variations in the form of some

some of the letters. One should therefore suppose that it is not very ancient, and the rather, as no Irish writing, incontestably anterior to Patrick's preaching in Ireland, has ever yet been published. Sir James Ware indeed says, that he had in his possession an old manuscript full of secret characters, called by the ancient Irish *Ogum*, in which they wrote what they meant to keep hidden or mysterious; but of what age he took the book to be, he does not inform us, nor how, if it was written in characters different from those above-mentioned, that, or others, in which this ancient cypher is found, can at present be decyphered, or could ever be understood, by any modern Irish. One may reasonably suppose, that in manuscripts written since that nation received the Roman letters from Patrick, some traditional truths, recorded before by the bards in their unwritten poems, may have been preserved to our times: yet these cannot be so separated from many fabulous stories, derived from the same sources, as to obtain a firm credit; it not being sufficient to establish the authority of suspected traditions, that they can be shewn to be not so improbable, or absurd, as others with which they are mixed; since there may be specious as well as senseless fictions. Nor can a poet or bard, who lived in the sixth or seventh century after Christ, if his poem is still extant, be any voucher for facts supposed to have happened before the incarnation; though his evidence (allowing for poetical licence) may be received on such matters as come within his own times, or the remembrance of old men with whom he conversed. It is therefore safest, in writing the ancient history of Ireland, to be content with those lights, which foreign writers have given, until better evidence is produced by the Irish themselves: as, in writing that of Britain, the most judicious historians pay no regard to the Welsh or British traditions delivered

Antiquit.
Hibern. c.
ii. sect. 2.

See Anti-
quities of
the British
Churches,
c. 5.

vered by Geoffry of Monmouth, though it is not impossible that some of those may be true, but adhere to the information, which contemporary writers of other countries afford, concerning the Britons. The very learned bishop Stillingfleet has sufficiently shewn, that the *Psalter of Cashel* is of no better credit, as to the accounts which it gives of the high antiquities of the Irish, than the British romance above-mentioned: yet, on the authority of that book, the greatest stress has been laid by Flaharty, Keating, and others, as containing collections of ancient chronicles composed by the bards, supervised by St. Patrick, and confirmed by the assembly of the nation at Taragh, in the reign of Læogary, their first Christian monarch, with most extraordinary care, to prevent any errors, or partial misrepresentations. Waiting then until better fruits of this pretended attention in the Irish legislature to the purity of their history shall have been shewn to the publick, we must seek for other guides, to discover to us, so far as it can be discovered, the state of that people, when either no authentic historical monuments existed among them, or when, from the loss of those that formerly did exist, we are equally deprived of that information which they might have afforded.

See Ware,
c. 10.

Concerning the origin of the Irish, some good antiquaries have thought no difficulty occurs, because their language itself, without any other proofs, declares them to be Celts. But that ancient people spread wide, and colonies of them may have come at different times into Ireland, not only from Britain, but from Gaul, from Germany, and from Spain; so that to prove which of these is the mother country of the Irish, or whether they are not a mixed race, other testimony is wanting. From Ptolemy's map it should seem that parts of Ireland were possessed, in the second century after Christ, by emigrants from all these several countries:

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Epist. 82.
l. v.

Benedict.
Abb. t. 14
p. 20. Hoveden, Ann.
pars. ii. f. 391.

Epist. 83.
84. l. v.

thian extraction, who came into Ireland from any part of Spain, in such very early times, that name, which denoted their original country, should have been lost and forgotten during so many ages, and revived about the middle of the fourth century, L. xx. c. 1. when (as appears by a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus) they were joined with the Picts in making war on the Britons. No notice is taken of them under that appellation in Ptolemy's map of Ireland, though he mentions the Concani, a Celtic people of Spain, as then settled in that isle. This inclines one to suppose their migration posterior to that geographer's time; but, on a matter involved in so much obscurity, I determine nothing. It is enough to say here, that a warlike nation, called Scots, had full possession of Ireland, under the government of a king, whose name was Lægary, son to Nial, or Neal, surnamed the Great, in the year of our Lord four hundred and thirty-two, when pope Cælestine the First sent thither St. Patrick, a native of North-Britain, who in his youth had been carried a captive into Ireland, and some assistants under him, to preach the gospel to all the inhabitants of that island. Christianity had gained some little footing there, before this time, particularly in Munster; but to Patrick was owing the conversion of the king and the body of the nation. The facility with which this conversion was effected, is a wonderful thing, if the British Druidism was then established in Ireland; for that cruel priesthood was so interested to maintain a religion, from which they drew the immoderate degree of power they enjoyed in the state, and had such means of exciting the zeal of the people to defend their superstitions, that it is hardly credible they should suffer such a change to be made without a violent opposition, if their hierarchy had not, by some extraordinary event, been wholly overturned, or much weakened, before Patrick,

or

or any of his fellow-labourers in the work of converting the Irish, had come within the verge of their tremendous jurisdiction. This may naturally have happened, if we suppose the Scots to have migrated into Ireland from Spain about the end of the second century : for in Spain were no Druids ; that order having only obtained an establishment in the British isles and in Gaul, which last country had received it (as Cæsar tells us) from Britain ; and therefore a people, unaccustomed, in their former abodes, to the heavy yoke of these tyrannous and bloody priests, might entirely shake it off, as soon as they had gained the dominion of all Ireland ; which they had time to do between the end of the second century and the middle of the fifth. But this is only conjecture.—

Archbishop Usher has brought many evidences to prove, that the religion which Patrick, and some other ecclesiasticks, who accompanied him in his mission, taught to their converts, was in substance much the same with the doctrines professed by the reformed church of England. But it had one blemish in it, from which that is exempt ; I mean a great veneration and fondness for *monkery*, which, even in that age, was attended with many idle and blameable superstitions, such as sullied the purity, and dishonoured the wisdom of the genuine Christian faith. These became in later times a source of greater corruptions, which prevailed more and more, until the primitive doctrines of the Irish church were lost.

See Usher on the Religion
anciently
professed by
the Irish and
British.

Together with the gospel, the British missionaries introduced into Ireland the Roman alphabet, and a general knowledge of the Latin language. A school was formed at Armagh, which soon became very famous. Many Irish went from thence to convert and teach other nations. Many Saxons out of England resorted thither for instruction, and brought from thence the use of letters to their

ignorant countrymen, the same letters which Patrick had given to the Irish. We learn from Bede, L. iii. c. 27. an Anglo-Saxon, that, about the middle of the seventh century, numbers, both of the nobles and of the second rank of English, left their country, and retired out of England into Ireland, for the sake of studying theology, or leading there a stricter life. And all these (he affirms) the Irish, whom he calls *Scots*, most willingly received and maintained *at their own charge*, supplying them also with books, and being their teachers *without fee or reward*. A most honourable testimony, not only to the learning, but likewise to the hospitality and bounty of that nation !

Great praise is likewise due to the piety of those Irish ecclesiasticks, who (as we know from the clear and unquestionable testimony of many foreign writers) made themselves the apostles of barbarous heathen nations, without any apparent inducement to such hazardous undertakings except the merit of the work. By the preaching of these men, the Northumbrians, the East Angles, and the Northern Picts, were converted. Convents also were founded by them in Burgundy, Germany, and other foreign countries, where they distinguished themselves by the rigid integrity and purity of their manners ; so that Ireland, from the opinion conceived of their sanctity, was called *the country of Saints*. But their real fame has been injured by the writers of their lives ascribing to them miracles, as ill invented as false ; and it seems, from the accounts of their panegyrist themselves, that the zeal of some of them about trifles was much too warm.

After the establishment of the Christian religion in Ireland, the history of that country begins to be somewhat more authentick, yet is still very full of most improbable fictions, out of which a few truths, supported by other evidence, or, at least,
not

not contradicted, may with difficulty be culled. It appears that the family of Nial the Great, after the interruption of one reign on the death of Læogary, recovered and fixed in themselves the sovereignty of Ireland, from the year of our Lord four hundred and eighty-three to the year one thousand and two. Yet the princes of this race succeeded not to each other by right of primogeniture, or proximity of blood, but by the election of the general assembly of the nation; which election, through the power and influence of those kings who succeeded to Lugad, the son of Læogary, was limited to be made out of some of the princes of the blood of Nial, called by the Irish Hy Nials, instead of being extended, as it had anciently been, to all the descendants of the Heremonian family, from which Nial sprung, and which had many more branches. At what time the Irish custom of electing a successor, during the life of the reigning monarch, first began, is uncertain; but it is supposed to have been very ancient in Ireland; and so, doubtless, was the notion that minors, or women, were incapable of succeeding, or being elected. Princes therefore of full age, and able to exercise all the functions of royalty, either in peace or in war, were the only competitors; but (as it commonly happens in elective kingdoms) the competition often caused civil wars in the nation; for the preventing of which, about the year seven hundred and thirty-four, a rule of alternate succession was established in the two most potent branches of the Hy Nial race, Clan Colman and Tyrone: but the resentment of those whom this partition excluded, and an impatience to reign in the successor chosen by the power of a faction, were always troublesome and often fatal to the monarch on the throne, even at times when no pretence of a publick grievance existed. In the long catalogue of those kings we find very

See Mr. O Conor's Dissert. on the Hist. of Ireland, sect. xv. and other Irish writers. See also Ware, Antiquit. Hibern. Spenser, and Camden.

O Conor, Dissert. p. 221.

Ware, c. iv.

few who were not killed in battle by the swords of rebels, confederated against them with foreign enemies, or traiterously murdered, or compelled to save their lives by resigning their crowns, and retiring into convents. It sometimes happened, when the strength of two competitors for the sovereignty was thought nearly equal, that they ended the dispute by both reigning together : and, in the usual course of things, Ireland, besides the chief monarch, who governed the whole island, had five provincial kings, who all derived their descent, or were supposed to derive it, from the first princes or leaders of the Scots. The power of these was subjected (so far as laws could subject it) to the sceptre of the monarch, but, in fact, they were often uncontrollable by it, and more his rivals than subjects.

Anciently, Ireland (as we learn from Giraldus Cambrensis) was divided into five almost equal portions, namely North and South Munster, Leinster, Ulster and Conaught : but afterwards Meath, which, in that partition of the country, had been annexed to the monarchy of the whole island, as a royal demesne, was separated from it, and given to a prince of the Hy Nial Family ; in consequence of which, it became one kingdom of the pentarchy ; another being composed of the two Munsters united. There was also a great number of lesser districts or lordships, contained within these five realms, and governed by chiefs of septs or clans, some of whom were called kings, and all exercised a kind of regal authority over their own people. In each dynasty, great or small, the prince, or chief, was elected under the same regulations as the supreme monarch ; the rule of succession being called *the tanistry law*, because the successor, so appointed in the life-time of the person who governed the feignory, bore the title of *Tanist*. What confusion must arise from such a multitude of small elective

O Conor,
Dissert.
Ware, c. iv.

elective states in one realm, it is needless to observe. The reason of this institution, and likewise of the exclusion of females and minors from a capacity of inheriting any territory of this nature, was, that, as in the whole realm, so, in every single district, there might be always a ruler of sufficient abilities to protect the people there against hostile incursions. From the apprehension of these, they were never wholly free; as their family-quarrels descended, with implacable animosity, to the latest posterity, and when revenge did not arm the neighbouring septs against each other, the desire of rapine did: nor was the power of the five provincial kings strong enough, in their several dominions, to curb the violence of inferior princes and chieftains; nor could that of the supreme monarch restrain those kings from continual wars among themselves, or from civil commotions in each particular realm. The constitutional remedy against these disorders, was a triennial convention of the states of Ireland, the decrees of which comprehended the whole authority of the nation: for all their writers agree that such assemblies were coæval with the monarchy in that island: but the best measures there taken were often defeated by combinations of factions; and as the several chieftains, particularly those at the head of great provinces, grew more and more independent, provincial assemblies were set up, in opposition to the national senate, and the authority of the latter was gradually diminished.

O Conor,
Dissert. p.
64, 268.

One cause of the weakness of the sovereign power in Ireland, was the separating from it Meath, the ancient demesne of the monarch; there not remaining that due proportion of wealth, which was necessary to maintain the dignity of the crown, and draw respect from the nobles. The royal revenues of the monarch, after this alienation, consisted in tributes, not of money, but cattle, and other

other necessaries of life paid to him in kind. The inferior kings had such tributes, which their subjects paid to them, and likewise lands in demesne.

Ware, c. viii.
—xiii.

The lesser chiefs were supported, partly by lands assigned to them in their several districts, and partly by tallages, occasionally imposed by them on their tenants, or people under their rule, at their own will and pleasure. One of these was a demand for themselves and their retinues to be entertained at free-cost in the visitations and progresses which they frequently made through their septs. But this, and other exactions, which it will not be necessary to particularize here, were softened to the Irish by the generous hospitality, which their petty princes and lords continually exercised in their own dwellings: for, whatever they drew, at any time, from the people, they freely laid it out there; and their strength and safety depending, in their daily quarrels with each other, on the affection of those who acknowledged them for their chiefs, some moderation and lenity in the exercise of their power was necessary for them; and a sense of their own interest would operate as a check, where legal restraints were too weak, on their avarice, or other irregular passions.

Sir John Davies.
Ware.

The inferior tenancies, below the degree of a tanist, were partible, by the custom of the Irish gavelkind, among all the males of a sept, the spurious not excepted. And if, after such a partition, any one of them died, his proportion was not shared among his sons, nor did it go by inheritance to the next of kin, but a new division was made of all the lands of the sept, in equal parts, by the chief; a practice very different from the Welsh or Kentish gavelkind, and of which the consequence was, that the landed property of the commons was perpetually changing from one man to another.

Nor

Not only the inferior provincial kings, but all the nobles or chieftains, had, in their several districts, hereditary judges, called by the Irish *brehons*, who administered justice for them by the rules of a law, concerning which Sir John Davies, attorney-general of Ireland in the reign of James the First, has delivered this opinion, " If we consider the nature of the Irish customs, we shall find that the people which doth use them must of necessity be rebels to all good government, destroy the commonwealth wherein they live, and bring barbarism and desolation upon the richest and most fruitful land of the world. For, whereas by the just and honourable law of England, and by the laws of all other well-governed kingdoms and common-weals, murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, and theft, are punished with death, by the Irish custom, or *brehon* law, the highest of these offences was punished only by fine, which they called an *ericke*." The same writer has elsewhere explained more at large the manner of laying this *ericke*, and the cases in which it was taken. His words, which I transcribe, as of higher authority than mine would be, are these: " For offences and matters criminal, none was of so heinous a nature that it was capital; for treason against the chief lord, and murder, were fineable: the fine they called an *ericke*, which was assessed by the lord and his *brehons*. In case of treason, the lord had all the fine; in case of murder, the lord had one moiety, and the kindred of the party slain the other moiety; so as they never forfeited their possessions or their lands for any offence. Howbeit, their lands were seized by the lords for their fines, until the same were levied thereupon, and then restored. Rape was fineable in like sort, but theft deserved praise and reward, if the stealth were brought into the country,

“ country, because the lord had a share, and the
 “ country thereby became the richer. But the
 “ theft being committed in the country and car-
 “ ried out, if the thief were apprehended before
 “ his friend made offer of his fine, he was com-
 “ monly punished with death. But the lord, in
 “ that case, might take an *ericke*, if he would.
 “ The brehons, assisted by certain scholars, who
 “ had learned many rules of the civil and canon
 “ law, rather by tradition than by reading, gave
 “ judgment in all causes, and had the eleventh part
 “ of the thing adjudged for their fee, and the
 “ chief lord’s marshal did execution.”

Having also described the Irish customs of
 tanistry and gavelkind, agreeably to the account
 which has been given of them here, he thus con-
 cludes: “ These are the principal rules and
 “ grounds of the *brehon* law, which the makers
 “ of the statutes of Kilkenny did, not without
 “ cause, call a *lewd custom*; for it was the cause
 “ of much lewdness and barbarism. It gave coun-
 “ tenance and encouragement to theft, rapine,
 “ and murder, it made all possessions uncertain,
 “ whereby it came to pass that there was no build-
 “ ing of houses and towns, nor education of
 “ children in learning or civility, no exercise of
 “ trades or handicrafts, no improvement or manu-
 “ ring of lands, no industry or virtue in use
 “ among them; but the people were bred in
 “ looseness, and idleness, which hath been the
 “ true cause of all the mischiefs and miseries in
 “ that kingdom.”

On these passages I observe, that, if the natural
 effects of the Irish or brehon law, which was
 chiefly derived from old customs, were such as
 this great lawyer and able statesman sets forth, we
 have no grounds to suppose, that the ancient state
 of Ireland, when those customs were less mixed
 with the principles drawn from any foreign juris-
 prudence,

prudence, could have been better than that, of which he has given so pleasing a picture.

Causes were tried by the brehons in the open air, Ware, c. viii. and most frequently on the tops of hills; as they had been by the druids: and in such places the Irish continued also to hold their provincial assemblies, where all differences or complaints between district and district, and even private cause of extraordinary importance or difficulty, were heard and determined. To these meetings they came armed, some on horseback and some on foot, as was usual among all the ancient colonies of the Celts in their publick consultations.

Giraldus Cambrensis relates, that, during the reign of Nial or Neal the Great, six sons of Mured Topograph. Hibern. c. xvi. king of Ulster, invaded and seized the northern parts of Britain, where a people, descended from the colony which they planted, and called by the name of Scots, had continued to his time. Bede Bede, L. i. c. 1. before him, had said, that a colony out of Ireland, *the proper country of the Scots*, had come into Britain under the conduct of Reuda, from whom they were called Dalreudini; and had added *a third nation* to the Britons and Picts, obtaining among the latter, by consent or by force, the settlements they possessed. But the time of their coming is not mentioned by him. From other writers we learn, that the western parts of Caledonia were won from the Picts by Fergus, the son of Erk, about the beginning of the sixth century; which is a hundred years later than the death of Nial, in whose reign the first migration of the Scots of Ulster from that country, into North-Britain, is dated by Giraldus. Camden cites an old manuscript, which makes Fergus descend from an Irish monarch named Conair, whose third son was Carbre Riada, supposed to be the Reuda who is mentioned by Bede. However this may have been, it seems a fact well attested, that early in the

O Conor's
Dissert. on
the Hist. of
Scotland,
p. 19.

O Conor's
Dissert. on
the Hist. of
Ireland, p.
29.

Bede, l. iv.
c. 26.

Ware,
c. xxiv.

the sixth century a dynasty of Scots out of Ulster began to be formed in Argyleshire and the western parts of North-Britain, remaining nevertheless in subjection to the sovereignty of the mother country, Ireland, until the year five hundred and ninety, when, by the ordinances made in a great convention of the Irish states at Drumkeat, it was freed from that dependance. About the year eight hundred and thirty-eight, the whole realm of the Picts was subdued by a descendant from these princes of Ulster, Kineth the son of Alpin; since which time, the name of Scotland has been given to all that portion of Great Britain subjected to this victorious king, from whom, and (according to the Irish genealogists) from the ancient monarchs of Ireland, the royal family of the Stuarts is lineally derived. The having sent forth a colony, which has risen to such a height of dominion and greatness, is a glory of which Ireland may justly boast; but, whether these Irish Scots and the ancient Caledonians were not originally the same people, I do not pretend to decide.

We learn from Bede, that, in the year six hundred and eighty-four, Egfrid, king of Northumberland, sent his general, named Berth, with an army into Ireland, and miserably wasted the country; which that historian condemns, as an unjust expedition against a people *inoffensive and most friendly to the English*. Berth returned the same year, without having made any settlement in the island; and the next year Egfrid died, being slain in a war against the Picts. Ireland, after his death, remained unmolested by the Northumbrian princes; but, at the end of the following century, the Danes and Norwegians, intermixed with other corsairs from the rest of Scandinavia, began to ravage its coasts; and, when several descents had been made, and great booties carried off, by different fleets of these pirates, a Norwegian leader,

leader, named Turgesse, bringing with him greater forces, established a tyranny over almost the whole island, which he exercised with intolerable cruelty and insolence, until the year eight hundred and forty-five, when Melachlin, king of Meath, having taken him prisoner, ordered him to be drowned in a lake. Three years afterwards, by repeated overthrows from the Irish, the dominion of these foreigners was nearly extinguished in Ireland: yet new supplies coming to them from that inexhaustible hive, the coast of Scandinavia, they continued to wage a bloody war with the natives. The fierce spirit of their religion encreasing the natural barbarity of their minds, they turned their rage more particularly against the clergy, whom they massacred without mercy, and in hatred to them, burned their books, their schools, and their convents. Among many learned men, who were driven by the terror of this persecution to take refuge abroad, none distinguished themselves more than Albin and Clement, whom the emperor, Charles the Great, received in his court, and honoured with his favour. Of the last of these it is said, by a contemporary German writer, that, *through his instructions, the French might vie with the Romans and the Athenians*. John Erigena, whose surname denoted his country (*Ere*, or *Erin*, being the proper name of Ireland) became soon afterwards famous for his learning and good parts, both in England and in France. Thus did most of the lights, which in those times of thick darkness cast their beams over Europe, proceed out of Ireland! The loss of the manuscripts, which the ravages of the Pagans destroyed, is much bewailed by the Irish, who treat of the history and antiquities of their country, and may well be deemed a misfortune, not only to them, but to the whole learned world.

In the Year eight hundred and fifty-three, Ware, c. xxiv. Am-lave, a prince of the royal blood of Denmark, and

Usher, de
Brit., Eccles.
Primord. p.
1173.

and his two younger brothers, named Ivar and Sitrick, arriving in Ireland with a powerful army of Danes and Norwegians, all their countrymen there submitted to Amlave; and the Irish, defeated in one or two great battles, were compelled to pay him tribute. By these princes, Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick were built. In the year eight hundred and seventy, Amlave and Ivar, with a fleet of two hundred ships, invaded England as auxiliaries to Hinguar and Hubba, Danish chiefs; from whence they returned the next year, with many captives and great spoils, to their capital city, Dublin. Amlave dying soon afterwards, he was succeeded by Ivar, whom the Irish annals stile *king of all the Normans in Ireland*, that is, of all the people who came thither from the North: but, their country lying also to the east of Ireland, they were likewise called Easterlings, Eastmen, or Ostmen, by the last of which names, as most usually given to them, I shall distinguish them in the course of this work. It would be tedious to mention all the changes of fortune in the war carried on between them and the Irish under different princes; the fury of which was not lessened by their having turned Christians about the year nine hundred and forty-eight, in the reign of Congal or Congelach, supreme monarch of Ireland. Eight years afterwards they defeated and slew that brave prince, by whom they had been vanquished in two preceding battles. There is extant an old charter, dated from Gloucester in the year nine hundred and sixty-four, and supposed to have been of King Edgar, wherein it is said, "that the propitious
 " Deity had granted to him, with the empire of
 " England, to subdue to that realm all the king-
 " doms of the isles of the ocean, with their most
 " fierce kings, as far as to Norway, and the great-
 " est part of Ireland, with its most noble city of
 " Dublin." The date of this charter falls in with
 the

Ware,
c. xxiv.

See it in
the British
Museum.

the eighth year of the reign of king Donald the Second, who succeeded to Congal in the monarchy of Ireland; at which time, Aulave was the chief of the Ostmen in that island, and styled king of Dublin. The Irish writers say nothing of the subjection of either of them to the dominion of Edgar; and what renders the authenticity of this pretended record very doubtful, is the silence of all the ancient English historians on these boasted conquests. But the Irish speak of a civil war ^{Ware,} which the son of Congal maintained, with the ^{c. xxiv.} assistance of Aulave, in the year nine hundred and seventy, against Donald the Second, two of whose sons, in the year nine hundred and seventy-seven, leading his army against Aulave, were vanquished and slain by that prince. Before the end of three ^{Ibidem.} years, their father died, and was succeeded by another son, named Melachlin, who soon after his election won a memorable battle, in which perished almost all the chiefs of the Ostmen. But, instead of following his blow, and expelling the remainder of these foreigners out of Ireland, he granted to them a peace, which enabled them to recruit their broken force; and, using their aid in a war against the king of Leinster, overcame him by their arms. From this time, not considering that the temper of the Irish would better endure any vice in the character of their monarch than want of activity, he gave himself up to the pleasures of an indolent life, which so sunk his reputation, that, in the year one thousand and two, the twenty-third of his reign, he was constrained to resign the monarchy of Ireland to Brian Boro, or (as some call him) Boroume, king of Munster.

This prince was the hero of the Irish in that age, having eminently distinguished his valour and good conduct in many battles he had fought against the Ostmen, and in some against his countrymen of other provinces, with whose chiefs he had quarrelled.

O'Connor's
Differt.
p. 50.

relled. Age had given him prudence, without taking from him vigour; for, though he was now little less than seventy-five years old, his mind and body retained their powers unbroken. He derived his descent, (according to the received accounts of the bards) not from Nial the Great, or from Heremon, to whose line a long-established law or custom had limited the succession, but from Heber, Heremon's brother, and asserted (with others of the provincial kings) that the race of this prince, by the original rules of the Irish constitution, were as capable of being elected to the monarchy, as any of Heremon's sons, and had in fact been elected during the earliest times of their settlement in that island. So antiquated a claim was not likely to prevail against a practice of many hundred years: but, whatever doubt there might be of the goodness of the title which Brian set up, there was none of his ability to govern the kingdom; and he had in his service an army of veteran soldiers, called the tribe of Dalgais, about whose valour most incredible tales are related in some of the Irish annals, but who certainly were the best militia in Ireland. These removed all objections against his exaltation; so that Melachlin, unable and unwilling to resist a competitor of such strength, was content to yield to him the sovereignty of Ireland, retaining for himself the subordinate kingdom of Meath; which agreement was ratified by the states of the nation. Brian Boro, thus elected, constrained the Ostmén to give up whatsoever they held in the inland parts of the country, and also to pay him tribute, but left them masters of all the fortified towns and principal sea-ports, namely, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, and Corke, which their predecessors had built, and from whence they continued to carry on a great trade, useful indeed to the Irish, but not so necessary as to justify the policy of this monarch in

in permitting them to remain possessors of those places, if he did it (as some writers suppose) from choice. His desire to force Malmorda, king of Leinster, to pay him a tribute, exacted by former monarchs, but always complained of as unjust and oppressive, drew him into an intestine war with that prince, to the general detriment of the whole Irish state. Malmorda, whose country was overrun and destroyed by the forces of Munster, made a league with the Oostmen in the year one thousand and thirteen. Brian hereupon took great pains, though he was then in the eighty-sixth year of his age, to form a confederacy of all the other Irish princes against this alliance, and for the utter expulsion of the foreigners out of Ireland. Sitric, son of Aulave, alarmed at these preparations, obtained, from the Norwegians in the isle of Man and the Hebrides, a powerful aid of good troops. Thus were formed two great armies, which met and fought, in the year one thousand and fourteen, upon the plains of Clontarfe. The particulars of this battle are so differently related, that no certain account can be given of it here. The most probable seems to be, that the loss of men on both sides was very great; that Brian and his son Murrough were killed in the action or mortally wounded; and that Sitric was forced to retire into Dublin, the commander in chief of the Norwegian auxiliaries, and Malmorda king of Leinster, with many nobles and principal leaders of the Oostmen, being left dead in the field.

On the death of Brian and his son, Melachlin, king of Meath, returned, without opposition, the sovereignty of Ireland; which he had resigned twelve years before, and shewed himself worthy of it, by gaining, in the year one thousand and eighteen, a compleat victory over the confederate forces of the Oostmen and of Leinster. The loss of men in the battle of Clontarfe and in this, at the

Ware,
c. xxiv.
O'Connor's
Dissert.
p. 263.

Ware,
c. xxiv.

the distance of no more than three or four years, extremely weakened the Oſtmen : but their ſecurity lay in their walled towns, which the Iriſh, unprovided with battering engines, and unſkilled in the method of carrying on a ſiege, were unable to take, when any good defence was made.

Ware, c. iv.

Chron.
Mann.

Uſher,
Syllog. Epiſt.
Hibern.
p. 71.

Ware,
c. xxiv.

In the year one thouſand and twenty-three, Melachlin died, and, after an interregnum of twenty years, was ſucceeded in the monarchy by Dermot Macmalnambo, king of Leinſter. During the reign of this prince, in the year one thouſand and ſixty-fix, Gothric Crovan, king of Man, ſubdued to his dominion the city of Dublin and a great part of Leinſter, ſo far extending his power over all the Iriſh princes, that, in a letter from Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, publiſhed by Baronius, he is called *king of Ireland*. And the chronicle of Man affirms, that he would not ſuffer the Iriſh (there denominated Scots) to drive more than three nails into any veſſel they built. Three years before his death, which happened in the year one thouſand and ſeventy-fix, Dermot Macmalnambo, aſſiſted by the arms of the Oſtmen, fought a battle againſt the king of Meath, in which he was ſlain. Yet the ſucceſſion was not obtained by that prince, but by Turlogh Obrian, king of Munſter, and a grandſon of Brian Boro, who reigned, with a fair reputation for juſtice and other civil virtues, but without any memorable exploits in war, until the year one thouſand and eighty-fix, or (as ſome reckon) eighty-seven, when he was ſucceeded by Murrogh O Brian, his ſon.

About this time a civil war divided the Oſtmen. Godfrey Meranagh, whom the citizens of Dublin had elected to ſucceed to Gothric Crovan, took Waterford, which obeyed a different prince ; but in the year one thouſand and ninety-five, Murrogh O Brian compelled them, by waſting their lands,

to

to drive out Godfrey, and elect another king. From hence-forward, the cities and territories of the Ostmen appear to have been held under fealty and tribute to the several Irish kings in whose districts they lay; and this people, addicting themselves wholly to commerce, lost much of their valour and military spirit, without making any great improvements in politeness, or the civil arts of life.

At the beginning of the twelfth century, Donald O Lachlyn, a prince of the Hy Nial line, reviving the ancient claim of his family to the monarchy of Ireland, took up arms against O Brian. While the nation was employed in a civil war on this quarrel, Magnus, furnished the Barefooted, king of Norway, having superstitiously left his realm on account of a dream, with a navy of a hundred and sixty ships, fixed his seat in the isle of Man, from whence he made himself master of all the smaller northern and western British isles, as far as Shetland, and (according to some historians) of the peninsula of Kintire on the western coast of Scotland.

O Conor's
Dissert. p.
270, 271

Chron. Man-
niz, in fine
Camdeni.

The information he soon gained of the weak condition of Ireland, made him hope to add that to his other acquisitions, and this hope was to him a sufficient cause of war: but while, by his orders, a great fleet was assembling, he went himself, with a squadron of only sixteen ships, to take a view of the coasts. In doing this, as he saw no appearance of forces drawn together to oppose him, he landed in Ulster, and, proceeding without caution, was surrounded on a sudden by a body of the natives, who slew him with most of his people. If this enterprize had been more wisely conducted, and the success had been answerable to what the divisions among the Irish princes, and the inclination of the Ostmen in favour of a monarch, from whose country most of them originally came,

seemed reasonably to promise, it would have erected in Ireland a Norwegian kingdom, which, together with Man, and the other dominions of Magnus, full of shipping and good seamen, might, in process of time, have composed a maritime power, capable of maintaining itself, perhaps for ever, against that of the English, and disputing with them the sovereignty of the sea. It may indeed be esteemed most happy for this nation, that no king of Denmark, or of Norway, or of Sweden, nor any prince of the Ostmen, settled in Ireland, ever gained an entire dominion of that isle; for, had it remained under the orderly government of any of these, its neighbourhood would have been, in many respects, prejudicial to England.

The imminent danger, with which the lawless ambition and formidable forces of Magnus had threatened the Irish, being ended by his death, the civil war, which before had divided that nation against itself, was renewed with great fury: but, in the year eleven hundred and six, it was agreed that the island should be equally parted between O Brian and Donald, each of whom was made sovereign in the moiety assigned to him. Yet, not many years after the conclusion of this treaty for the peace of the country, new disorders arose, not from either of those monarchs, but from a young king of Conaught, named Turloch O Connor. The disquiet given to O Brian, by the enterprises of this prince against his authority, and an infirm state of health, induced him to retire from his throne to a convent, in the year eleven hundred and eighteen. O Connor and Donald then fought for the sovereignty of the whole island; nor did the decease of the latter, which happened not long afterwards, put an end to the anarchy of this miserable country. The king of Conaught, for some years, was ill obeyed by the

Ware,
c. xxiv.
O Connor,
Dissert. p.
270—274.

O Connor,
at *supra*.

Ibidem, p.
272.

the kings of Munster, Leinster, and Meath, whose quarrels with him occasioned great slaughter of the people, and great devastations, particularly in Munster, the power of which he quite broke, and, dividing that kingdom into two portions, called North and South Munster, committed the former of these provinces to the government of Conor O Brian, and the later to that of Donald Mac Carthy. Having acquired, at length, as absolute a dominion over all Ireland, as any of his predecessors had ever enjoyed, he obtained from the Irish, too prodigal of high titles, the name of Turloch *the Great*. Yet his greatness did not hinder Murtach O Lachlyn, king of Ulster, the chief of the Hy Nial race, from trying to wrest the sovereignty from him towards the end of his life. The contest was bloody, but O Conor died on the throne, in the year eleven hundred and fifty-six; after whom reigned O Lachlyn, (whom some writers call Mac-Loghlin) until the year eleven hundred and sixty-six, when he was slain by a petty prince of a district in Ulster. Roderick O Conor, king of Connaught, and son of Turloch the Great, who had vainly aspired to succeed to his father in the sovereignty of Ireland, now ascended the throne. He was formally elected in a general assembly of the states of the island, convened by him at Dublin, and inaugurated with all the ancient solemnities, which no other supreme monarch of Ireland had been since Brian Boro. Yet, notwithstanding this shew of universal consent to his election, the peace of his reign was disturbed, within a very short time, by those intestine commotions, which the bad constitution of government in Ireland, and many other concurrent causes of discord and disorder, inevitably produced. He suppressed them indeed with great spirit; but the discontents of the vanquished, or of those whom fear alone prevented from rebelling, continued to rankle in

Ware, c. iv.
O Conor.

O Conor,
Dissert. from
p. 275 to
277.

their hearts, and helped to cause that subjection of this very ancient monarchy to the imperial crown of England, which came to pass in his days.

V. Girald.
Cambrenf.
Topograph.
Hibern. c. x.
Neubrigen-
sis, l. ii. c.
26.

The manners of the Irish, as we find them described by contemporary writers, were, at this time, very savage. They tilled few of their lands, though naturally fruitful; nor had they any industry or skill in mechanicks, or in manufactures, but wore garments coarsely made of black wool of their sheep, and lived chiefly on the flesh and milk of their cattle; or on wild roots and herbs. Their houses were such as could be easily raised, and easily taken down, according as the convenience of hunting, or fishing, or removing their cattle to different pastures, or the sudden incursions of a bordering enemy, might occasionally induce them to change their abode; and therefore were not built with brick or stone, nor usually with solid beams of wood, but with twigs of osier, or wattles, covered over with thatch. Even those of their kings themselves differed only from these in being more spacious; so that a castle of stone, erected at Tuam by Roderick O Conor, was called by his people, astonished at the novelty of it, *the wonderful castle*.

Ware, c.
xxii.

Solinus, c.
xxv.
Ware, c.
xviii.

As for navigation, to which the inhabitants of an island, and an island full of good ports, are prompted by nature, we know from the testimony of Solinus Polyhistor, that the Irish in his time used to sail on the ocean between Ireland and Britain in wicker boats, which they covered with raw hides, and which had no masts, nor sails, being the same with those of the ancient Veneti and Britons, described by Cæsar and Lucan. There is also in Marianus Scotus, and Florence of Worcester, an account of a voyage made by three Irish Scots, from Ireland to Cornwall, in a vessel of this kind, about the year of our lord eight hundred and ninety-two. Whether their countrymen in that age

age had other and larger ships, I will not determine; but, after the Ostmen were possessors of all their best harbours, and masters of their whole coast, they could not have any fleets, but what they hired, or procured by some other means from that people.

Giraldus Cambrensis says, "they went to battle ^{Topograph. Hibern. Distiac. iii.} unarmed, esteeming armour a burthen, and ^{c. 10.} thinking their fighting without such a protection was honourable to them." Yet this must be understood with an exception to the shield, always used by the Irish; but they made it very light, being only of wicker, covered with leather or raw hides. In not incumbering themselves with any heavier armour, they resembled the ancient Britons and the Welsh of those days; as they also did in their outcries and clashing of their arms before a charge, and rushing furiously on, without keeping any order, when the signal of battle was given. Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, in the passage above-mentioned, that the offensive weapons used, in his time, by the Irish, were short lances and darts, of which each soldier had two, resembling those of the Basques, (from whom he supposes their ancestors were a colony) and Danish axes, which the Ostmen had introduced. These last, he affirms, they constantly carried in their hands, wheresoever they went, in peace as well as in war. And he adds, that, in fighting, after their darts had been thrown, they cast at the enemy stones, provided for that purpose; in the practice of which, their dexterity was superior to that of any other people: but in close combat, they used their ponderous Danish axes, which they managed with one hand, though the Ostmen (from whom they originally took them) could not wield them without the help of both. Yet, notwithstanding all the strength and agility of their bodies, in which no nation surpassed, and scarce any equalled them, the

the want of order and discipline, and total ignorance in the art of war, rendered them generally unable to employ with advantage these excellent gifts of nature. It was also a great defect in their military force, that they had no good heavy cavalry, nor any long spears, pikes, or halberts, with which their infantry might keep off a foreign enemy's horsemen from breaking in upon them; nor short, strong, and pointed swords, to thrust with, as well as to strike. Neither is any mention made of archers in their armies by Giraldus Cambrensis, in the particular accounts he has given of the battles between them and the English, or in what he says of their weapons and their way of fighting. It is, therefore, no wonder, that, having arms so inferior to those of other nations, they should be overcome, when invaded. Their chief security lay in their patient enduring of the most severe hardships. From their childhood exposed to cold, to wet, and to all the inclemency of the seasons, they suffered little by wanting that protection against them, which is necessary for men, not so hardily educated in more civilized countries. Thus, their bogs, woods, and mountains, were citadels to them, which foreign troops, not enured to the way of living in such places, could not easily force. And hence they despised all those arts which have a tendency to enervate, either the body, or the mind; abhorring to dwell in great cities, or to shut themselves up within the walls of forts, or to exchange the rough freedom of unpolished barbarism for the decent restraints of politeness. The only elegance they indulged in their whole course of life, was the ancient custom, derived from their most remote ancestors, of entertaining their guests, with the musick of the harp; in playing upon which, Giraldus Cambrensis affirms they greatly excelled his countrymen the Welsh: but the Scots of North-Britain (as the same author con-

confesses) had, at the time when he wrote, the reputation of no less excelling them, *though they had learnt their art from them*. Every chief had his harper, who was likewise a poet, or bard, and sung the exploits of the family to which he belonged, at all their feasts. This office was hereditary by the old custom of Ireland. The son, however ill he might be qualified for it, succeeded to the father, and, with his profession, inherited a portion of land from the demesne of his lord. The songs of the bard had usually more power to incite and inflame, than the music of the harp to soften or mitigate, the ferocity of the chief: so that even this recreation, which seems to indicate something gentle and approaching to politeness in the temper of the Irish, contributed to keep up that turbulent spirit, averse to order and peace, which no prince, or legislator, that their country ever produced, had sufficient skill to controul.

Both sexes among them are generally handsome and well-shaped; nature herself, to whose care the fashioning their limbs was wholly left in their childhood, performing her work with peculiar beauty and strength; but the men deformed themselves, by letting their long bushy hair hang down over their eyes, and by enormous whiskers which they wore on their upper lips, resembling in these modes the ancient Britons and Celts, as they likewise did in their habit.

They were exceedingly jealous of their women. Giraldus Cambrensis accuses them of not using to contract any regular marriages, with the proper forms of the church, and of frequently marrying, in their own uncanonical manner, the widows of their brothers, or seducing them without marriage.

It was a practice among them to give their children to be nursed and bred up in other families, by a kind of adoption, while they themselves took

Topograph.
Hib. Dist.
iii. c. 10.

Ware, c. ii.
—xii.

Topograph.
Hibern. Dist.
tinct. iii. c.
19. 26.

Topogr. Hib. c. xxiii. in others, whom they fostered in like manner, from
 Ware, c. viii. a notion that more love was thus produced, and a
 Sir J. Davies edit. Lond. a closer alliance contracted, than even by the nearest
 from p. 179. ties of blood. This unnatural interchange was pur-
 to p. 182. chased of the richer by the meaner sort of people,
 and proved indeed a strong connection between the
 former and the latter, as well as a cement of more
 extensive and factious confederacies between power-
 ful families, which thus transferred to each other all
 the ties of paternal and filial affection. They like-
 wise held, to the shame of reason and religion, that
 the spiritual affinity, contracted between those who
 were sponsors together for a child at his baptism, ob-
 liged them ever afterwards to stand by one another
 in all things, lawful and unlawful. For the con-
 firmation of this league, which they called *compa-*
 Sir John Da- *ternity*, and of other compacts between them, they
 vies, ut su- *often received the sacrament of the Lord's supper,*
 pra. *and afterwards drank each other's blood. Thus,*
 Topogr. Hi- *even the most holy rites of Christianity, mixed with*
 bern. Dist. *barbarous superstitions, became to the Irish so-*
 tinct. iii. c. *lemn sanctions of evil combinations, very danger-*
 22. *ous to the publick!*

The ancient Celts were accustomed to swear by
their arms; and the Irish used the same oath,
 which remained among them much longer than the
 times of which I write: but they feared most
 to be perjured, when they had sworn by the cro-
 siers of some of their sainted bishops, or by the bells
 in their churches, believing that divine vengeance
 would instantly attend the breach of such oaths.

Topograph. Hib. Dist. iii. c. 33. We are told by St. Bernard, in his life of Mala-
 V. Bernard. chy, that not only all the clergy, but the whole
 Opera, edit. Paris. nobility, and even *the kings* of Ireland, on account
 St. Malachia Vit. p. 1937. of the veneration they had for St. Patrick, *were in*
all obedience subjected to the successors of that pre-
late in the see of Armagh. The power of those who
 held that see, in which the primacy had been for
 many years established, was certainly great in the
 temporal

temporal affairs of that kingdom; and it is evident from clear historical proofs, that this, and the other Irish metropolitan sees of Cashel and Tuam, had been, until the twelfth century, quite exempt from all dependance on any foreign see, that of Rome not excepted. But the Ostmén were not so tenacious, as the Irish, of the liberty of their church. For, in the year of our Lord one thousand and seventy-four, Patrick, one of that people, elected bishop of Dublin, solemnly promised, for himself and successors in his bishoprick, canonical obedience to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and the successors of that prelate, by whom, at the desire of the clergy and people of Dublin, he was consecrated in London. It is hard to say upon what this subjection was founded: for the city of Dublin was not then subject to England, but under the government of Gothrick Crovan, king of Man, and is stiled in the words of the profession of obedience made by this prelate, *the metropolis of Ireland*.

V. Uther and
Stillington.

Ware, c.
xxiv.

Ibidem,
c. xxiv.

An episcopal see was erected at Waterford in the year one thousand and ninety-six; and one Malcolm, born in Ireland, but educated in England, where he had been a monk, being chosen the first bishop, he promised obedience to the see of Canterbury, and received consecration from Archbishop Anselm. One cannot doubt that these prelates conceived themselves to be subject, as well as their primate in England, to the supremacy of the pope; and it appears, from St. Bernard's life of Malachy, that, before the year eleven hundred and thirty-nine, a legatine commission had been given by Rome to a bishop of Lismore; but that he had exercised any jurisdiction in Ireland, by virtue of that character, I do not find. In the above-mentioned year, while Innocent the Second was pontiff, Malachy, who had obtained the archbishoprick of Armagh, while his country was agitated with

V. Bernard.
in vitâ Ma-
lachie, c.
xvi.

with civil dissensions, went to Rome for a pall, which (to use the words of St. Bernard) "*had been, from the beginning, and was still, wanting to the metropolitan see.*" Innocent, pleased with this homage from a prelate, whose predecessors had been so long independent, received him with great honours, taking off his own mitre, and placing it on the head of this respected guest: but desiring to render the request of a pall rather the act of the Irish nation, than of their primate alone, he exhorted him to assemble a national council, and persuade them to sue for that favour. He did not, however, dismiss him, after such an application, without granting him what he knew would please him as well, the character of legate in Ireland; availing himself of the plea, that the bishop of Lismore, to whom it before had been given, was grown old and infirm. Malachy therefore returned with this dignity into Ireland, and endeavoured to execute his new master's injunctions; but it seems that the Irish nation did not readily admit the propriety of making the unprecedented petition to which they were urged; for, several years passed away without its having been made; and when the primate had brought his countrymen to apply to Pope Eugenius the Third, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-eight, for this gift, which Bernard calls *the plenitude of honour*, he died before he had time to convey to that pontiff the request of the council. Yet, on the foundations he laid, Eugenius, in the year eleven hundred and fifty-one, sent cardinal Paparo legate *à latere*, into Ireland with four palls, for the archbishops of Armagh, of Tuam, of Cashel, and of Dublin; the last of which cities was then first erected into an archbishoprick. Thus the badge of subjection to the Roman pontificate was at last received by the Irish metropolitan prelates.

Usher, De
Brit. Ecclef.
Præmeritiis,
p. 870.
Ware, c. xvi.

While the legate was in Ireland, he used the opportunity to impose on the clergy the unnatural restraint

restraint of perpetual celibacy, to which it may be presumed, they submitted the more easily, as most of them at this time indulged their desires without the form of marriage. We are told by St. Bernard, that, before the election of Ceallach (or Celsus) to the see of Armagh, it had been held by eight successive prelates, who were all married men. He adds that these prelates were not in holy orders, and (what is still more extraordinary) that this dignity had been, for fifteen generations, hereditary in the same family. Malachy laboured, more eagerly than any of his predecessors, to bring the church of Ireland to a nearer conformity with that of Rome; for which merit he is placed in the Roman calendar as a saint. Before he attained to the primacy, he was bishop of Connor and Down, and Bernard says, that, when he first went into Conaught, he found the people of that country more barbarous than any he had ever seen elsewhere, being Christians only in name, but in reality heathens, and beasts rather than men; that they paid no tithes, nor first-fruits, contracted no lawful marriages, made no confessions, submitted to no penances; that the ministers of the altar were few, and very negligent of their duty; but that, by the care of this prelate, a great change was soon effected in all these particulars. Nevertheless, it appears that much barbarism remained, not only in that province, but all over Ireland, until the times of which I write. It was indeed hardly possible to reform the evil customs which prevailed among the Irish, without altering their Government; nor could that be accomplished by any other means, than by their being subjected to some more civilised, foreign power.

William Rufus, in one of the expeditions he made against the Welsh, being on the rocks of the sea-coast, about St. David's, from whence he had a prospect of some of the Irish hills, said to his attendants, *that he would make a bridge with his ships from that place to Ireland.* But this and other

In vit. S. M.
P. 1937.

P. 1935,
1936.

V. Girald.
Camb. Iti.
neraum
Cambriae, l.
ii. c. 1.

other great designs, which his ambition had formed, and his power might have executed, were frustrated by his death.

De H. l. l. i.
f. 9.

William of Malmſbury tells us, that the monarchs of Ireland, contemporary with Henry the First, king of England, were so devoted to him, that they did nothing but according to his commands: which submission he ascribes to their fear of his restraining his subjects in this kingdom from trading with the Irish; as, without that commerce, their country, from the poverty and ignorance of its inhabitants, would have been of small value.

Henry the Second, soon after he came to the crown, proposed to undertake the conquest of Ireland. But having no title, on which he could possibly found a legal claim to that isle, nor any reasonable cause of war with the nation, he took the only method of supplying those defects, by colouring his ambition with a pretence of religion. Nicholas Breakſpear, an Englishman, was then bishop of Rome, under the name of Adrian the Fourth. To him Henry sent John of Salisburi with letters, wherein he desired the sanction of the papal authority to justify his intention of subduing the Irish, *in order to reform them*. A request of this nature, which supposed in the pope a power he wished to assume, could not fail of being favourably received at Rome. Henry's minister brought from thence a ring of gold to his master, sent by the pope as a sign of his investing that prince with the kingdom of Ireland, and delivered to him the following epistle, or bull.

G. Camb.
Hibern. Ex-
pugnata, c. 6.
l. ii.

See Rymer's
Fœdera,
tom. i. p. 15.
and appen-
dix to this
book.

“ Adrian, the bishop, a servant of the servants
“ of God, to his dearest son in Christ Jesus, the
“ illustrious king of England, sends greeting and
“ apostolical benediction. The desire your mag-
“ nificence expresses to extend your glory upon
“ earth, and to lay up for yourself in heaven a
“ great reward of eternal happiness, is very laud-
“ able

“ able and profitable for you, *while, as a good ca-*
 “ *tholick prince, you endeavour to enlarge the bounds*
 “ *of the church, to declare the true Christian faith*
 “ *to ignorant and barbarous nations, and to extir-*
 “ *pate all evil from the field of the lord; which,*
 “ *the better to perform, you ask the advice and en-*
 “ *couragement of the apostolical see.* In the accom-
 “ plishment of this work, we trust you will have,
 “ by the assistance of God, a success proportioned
 “ to the depth of counsel and discretion with
 “ which you shall proceed: forasmuch as every
 “ thing, which takes its rise from the ardour
 “ of faith and love of religion; is most likely to
 “ come to a good and happy end. There is in-
 “ deed no doubt, that (*as you yourself acknow-*
 “ *ledge*) *Ireland, and all other islands, which*
 “ *Christ, the son of Righteousness has illuminated,*
 “ *and which have received the doctrines of the*
 “ *Christian faith, belong of right, to the jurisdiction*
 “ *of St. Peter and the most holy Roman church.*
 “ Wherefore, we more gladly sow in them the
 “ seed of faith, which is good and agreeable to
 “ God, as we know that it will be more strictly
 “ required of our conscience not to neglect it.
 “ Since, then, you have signified to us, most dear
 “ son in Christ, that you desire to enter into the
 “ island of Ireland, in order to subdue the peo-
 “ ple to the obedience of laws, and extirpate the
 “ vices which have there taken root, and *that you*
 “ *are also willing to pay an annual pension to St.*
 “ *Peter of one penny from every house therein, and*
 “ *to preserve the rights of the church in that land*
 “ *inviolate and entire,* we, seconding your pious
 “ and commendable intention with the favour it
 “ deserves, and granting a benignant assent to your
 “ petition, are well pleased, that, *for the enlarge-*
 “ *ment of the bounds of the church, for the restraint*
 “ *of vice, the correction of evil manners, the cul-*
 “ *ture of all virtues, and the advancement of the*
 “ *Christian*

“ *Christian religion*, you should enter into that
 “ island, and effect what will conduce to the *sal-*
 “ *vation thereof*, and to the honour of God. It
 “ is likewise our desire, that the people of
 “ that country should receive you with honour,
 “ and *venerate you as their master* : *provided al-*
 “ *ways, that the ecclesiastical rights therein remain*
 “ *inviolat and entire* ; and *reserving to St. Peter*
 “ *and the most holy Roman church the annual pen-*
 “ *sion of a penny from every house*. If therefore
 “ you think fit to put your design in execution,
 “ endeavour studiously to instruct that nation in
 “ good morals, and do your utmost, as well per-
 “ sonally, as by others whom you know, from
 “ their faith, doctrine, and course of life, to be fit
 “ for such a work, that the church may there
 “ be adorned, *the christian religion planted and*
 “ *made to grow*, and whatsoever appertains to
 “ the honour of God and the salvation of souls so
 “ ordered, as may entitle you to an eternal reward
 “ from God, and a glorious name upon earth.”

When Henry acknowledged *that Ireland and all other islands, which had received the doctrines of the Christian faith, belonged of right to the jurisdiction of St. Peter, and the most holy Roman church*, he certainly meant a spiritual jurisdiction; for otherwise this concession would have given to the pope the temporal sovereignty of England, as well as of Ireland. But yet the purport of the bull, by which his holiness, in effect, disposed of that island, seemed to imply that the property, or supreme dominion, was in him; and it appears, from the words of John of Salisbury himself, whom Henry employed in this business, that this pretension was founded on the forged donation of Constantine to pope Sylvester the Second. Moreover, Giraldus Cambrensis, in reckoning up the claims which Henry had to Ireland, mentions this grant of Adrian, and the confirmation of it by the authority of

Vide Johan.
 Sarisbur.
 Metalog. l.
 iv. c. 42.

V. Hibern.
 Expugn. l. ii.
 c. 7.

of Pope Alexander the Second, as sufficient to answer all objections, or cavils, against the pretensions of that prince; *the supreme pontiffs* (as he says) *asserting to themselves the sovereignty of all islands, by a special right.* He means by the donation of Constantine above-mentioned. So extravagant were the ideas of the clergy in that age concerning the rights of the Roman pontificate! and this ought to have made the temporal powers more careful, in their transactions with Rome, to do nothing which might countenance those monstrous claims. It plainly appears by this bull, that Pope Adrian considered the payment of a penny from every house in Ireland, which had been offered by Henry, a most indispensable condition of the sanction he gave to this unjust undertaking; which was really selling the independence and liberty of the Irish for so much profit to himself and the apostolical see. But he had a further view in so strongly insisting thereupon. For, though Peterpence, in its first institution by king Offa, was only eleemosynary, for the sustenance of poor English students at Rome; yet the popes had long desired, that it should be understood as *a tribute*, by which their sovereignty was acknowledged. And the granting it from Ireland, where no ancient usage had established such a gift, looked like a confession of that pretended right on the part of King Henry. The ring also, which that prince received from Adrian, as a mark of investiture, gave an appearance of his holding the dominion of Ireland from and under the pope; though it is certain he owed no such dependence.

Upon the whole, therefore, this bull, like many before and many since, was the mere effect of a league between the papal and regal powers, to abet and to assist each other's usurpations; nor is it easy to say whether more disturbance to the world and more iniquity have arisen from their acting conjointly,

jointly, or from the opposition which the former has made to the latter! In this instance, the best, or indeed the sole excuse, for the proceedings of either, was the savage state of the Irish, to whom it might prove beneficial to be conquered, and broken thereby to the salutary discipline of civil order and good laws.

Chron.
Norm. ad
ann. 1154.

We are told by the Norman Chronicle, that Henry, in meditating the conquest of Ireland, intended to give that kingdom to Prince William, the youngest of his brothers, for whom no provision had been made by their father. It must be understood that he meant to give it to him under homage and fealty to the crown of England, not as a sovereign and independent dominion. The same chronicle adds, that he was persuaded, by the advice of his mother, the empress Matilda, to defer the execution of his purpose. It seems indeed that the internal affairs of his government were not yet so well settled, as to suffer him to engage in an enterprise of this nature, to which he was not invited by any of the Irish. He therefore laid up the bull he had obtained from the pope among the archives of his realm, to be brought forth at a more convenient season. Many years passed, without his having been tempted to turn his thoughts towards Ireland. But, about the end of the year eleven hundred and sixty-seven, an event happened there, the consequences of which opened to him a way to that sovereign dominion over the Irish, which soon afterwards he acquired, and which has never since been quite lost, but for a long time ill maintained, and too often ill exercised, by his successors, kings of England.

The first cause of this most important revolution, was Dermot Mac Murrough, or (as some call him) Mac Murchad, king of Leinster, who, in the year eleven hundred and twenty-six, had succeeded to his brother in the government of that state

state. He ruled it as a tyrant, and made himself very odious to the nobility of his realm by, perfidiously seizing, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-seven, the persons of seventeen chieftains, the most potent of whom he put to death, and tore out the eyes of the others. Nevertheless, as his tyranny was supported by valour, and this very act struck a terror into all the rest of his subjects, he retained an uncontrollable power over Leinster until the year eleven hundred and forty-two, when he was driven from thence by Turlogh O Brian, king of Munster, and fled for aid to O Conor, then monarch of Ireland, against whom, in conjunction with Murchad O Melachlin, king of Meath, he had before taken arms. His present distress; and a jealousy of O Brian's excessive aggrandisement, obtained the protection he implored from O Conor, whose forces, with those which Dermot was enabled to re-assemble in Leinster, by the credit of this league, defeated O Brian, and slew seventeen thousand of his men, in the year eleven hundred and fifty-one. The next year, O Melachlin having submitted to O Conor, he and Dermot joined that monarch, as head of the nation, in making war against a prince who continued to oppose him, namely Ternan O Ruark, lord of the Hy Brune Breffny, a territory in the eastern part of Conaught, comprehending the provinces of Cavan and Letrim. This potentate, though he had married Devorgalla, the king of Meath's daughter, was hated by her father, for having basely taken part with his enemies against him, and profited by his spoils on a former occasion. That king therefore, not unwillingly, assisted O Conor to subdue a rebel vassal, whom he himself wished to punish. The confederates having won a battle against him, he was forced to retire into the fastnesses of Conaught, while O Conor took from him, as a fine

for his revolt, a considerable district adjoining to Meath, and then returned with his forces into his own country. But Dermod, who had long been in love with Devorgalla, a very beautiful lady, used this opportunity of the absence of her husband from the place of her abode, to carry her off into Leinster, with her own consent, and (what is still more extraordinary) with the aid of her brother, the governor of East-Meath. O Ruark, on this outrage, implored the protection of the sovereign of Ireland, O Conor, who generously granted it to him, and, leading a great army into the confines of Leinster, forced Dermod, whose passion had been cooled by enjoyment, to deliver up Devorgalla, with the valuable effects which her husband, by the custom of Ireland, had given her on their marriage, and which the ravisher had taken together with the lady. How her husband received her, or whether, after her return, they ever cohabited, the Irish annals do not say; but they tell us, that her conduct was irreproachable from that time; that in the year eleven hundred and fifty-seven, when the church of Drogheda was consecrated, she made a donation of sixty ounces of gold for the good of her soul, and gave a golden chalice for the altar of the blessed Virgin, with many other rich gifts, to the abbey of Drogheda, where she died in the year eleven hundred and ninety-three, after a penitential retreat of seven years. Her father, the king of Meath, had survived the dishonour brought on his family only a few months. The next year, eleven hundred and fifty-four, O Ruark, at the head of his own troops out of Conaught, entered Leinster and ravaged it with all the fury of revenge, but could not expel Dermod, who, after the decease of Turloch O Conor, taking part with his successor, Murtach O Lachlyn, against Roderick O Conor, was, by the aid of that monarch, secured in

in the quiet possession of Leinster, until the year eleven hundred and sixty-six, when, O Lachlyn being slain, Roderick O Conor obtained the sovereignty of Ireland. This made a great change in the circumstances of Dermot. His enemy was on the throne, instead of his friend. All who hated him, in which number were most of his subjects, now joined with the sovereign in desiring to take a full revenge upon him for old or recent offences. The forces of Conaught, of Meath, and of the Ostmen of Dublin, under the command of O Ruark, invaded his country; his vassals forsook him; he retired to Férnes, at which place he had a fort; and, the enemy following him, he set fire to the town, and fled from thence into England. This resolution appears to have been suddenly taken, without concert with Henry, whom he did not find in that kingdom; but being informed that he was in Aquitaine, went to him there, and, as a king, in whose person the royal dignity had been injured, complained of the disloyalty and rebellion of his subjects, supported (as he said) by a malicious combination of the other Irish princes, against whose power he begged the assistance of Henry; offering, if restored by that prince to his kingdom, which his ancestors had ruled over for many ages past, to hold it, as a fief, under homage to England. This bribe disposed Henry to be not so attentive as he ought to have been to the merits of the cause, and the dishonour it would bring upon his own moral character to support a wicked tyrant, whom his countrymen had most justly driven out of their island. Princes usually weigh considerations of state in the scales of policy, not of justice. Henry saw the advantage, if he should ever pursue his former design upon Ireland, of having there a vassal king, obliged to him for the recovery of his dominions, and at enmity with all

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.

Hib. Expug-
nat. l. i.
c. 1.

the other Irish princes. For this reason, he thought fit, after having received an oath of fealty from Dermod, to give him letters patent in the following words; " Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to all his liegemen, English, Norman, Welsh, and Scotch, and to all the nations under his dominion, greeting. When these letters shall come to your hands, know ye, that we have received Dermod, prince of Leinster, into the bosom of our grace and benevolence. Wherefore, whosoever, in the ample extent of all our territories, shall be willing to assist in restoring that prince, as our vassal and liegeman, let such person know, that we do hereby grant to him our licence and favour for the said undertaking."

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 2.
Lambeth
Manuscr.

This mode of assistance did not so directly engage the king of England in a war with the Irish nation, as the sending against them any forces under his own royal standard; and Dermod reasonably hoped, that the adventurous spirit of the English nobility, would make this recommendation effectual to his service. He therefore went into England; and a decent provision being allowed him by Henry out of the royal revenue, he fixed his abode at Bristol, from whence, by means of the commerce which was constantly carried on between that city and Ireland, he might have frequent intelligence of what happened in Leinster, where he still corresponded with some of his most devoted friends. Here he produced the letters patent he had obtained from King Henry, and having publicly read them, added liberal promises of lands and other rewards to all nobles or soldiers, who would aid him to regain possession of his kingdom. But the danger of trusting to the good faith of a tyrant, or the apparant difficulty of the enterprise, so discouraged men from it, that

that for some time he met with no success. At length a great baron, Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, as his father had also been before him, was impelled, by the indigence into which he was lately fallen, to desire the advantages offered by Dermot, who proposed to give him his eldest daughter in marriage, and with her (as he had no legitimate son) the succession to his kingdom, on condition that the earl should raise for his service, and bring over into Ireland, a good body of forces, before the end of the next spring. This it was in the power of that nobleman to perform, notwithstanding the bad circumstances of his present fortune, because those very qualities, which had reduced him to poverty, endeared him to his vassals, I mean his profuse, extravagant generosity, and a certain greatness of mind, which, while it aspired to the highest objects, gave no attention to small ones, and considered oeconomy as a virtue below its pitch.

On the compact made by Dermot, it is necessary to observe, that although, regularly, by the ancient constitution of Ireland, no Irish kingdom descended to the daughter of a prince, or the husband of such daughter, yet, elections being usually carried on by force in all the governments there, Strongbow could not much doubt, that, if his arms should prevail in the enterprise of recovering Leinster for Dermot, they would also enable him to secure to himself the stipulated succession after the death of that king.

These preliminaries being settled, Dermot departed from Bristol, and went to reside at St. David's, from whence the passage to Leinster, with a favourable wind, is only of one day. He there engaged in his service two young noblemen of great rank, Maurice Fitzgerald, and Robert Fitzstephen, who were both sons of Nesta, a princess of South

Neubrigesf.
l. ii.

Hibern. Exp-
pugnat. l. 1.
c. 2, 3.

South Wales, mentioned before in this work, on account of her amour with king Henry the First, and as mother to Robert, the famous earl of Gloucester. Maurice Fitzgerald was the offspring of her subsequent marriage with Gerald de Windsor, an English baron in South Wales, and Robert Fitzstephen of another, which, after the death of that lord, she made with Stephen, who was constable of Cardigan castle and presided over that province. On the last revolt of Rhees ap Gryffyth against Henry the Second, Fitzstephen, who had succeeded to his father's offices, was treacherously seized by the Welsh, and delivered to their prince, his cousin-german on the mother's side, who kept him in prison three years, and then freed him on condition of joining his party. The bad consequences, which, on Henry's return into Britain, both the brothers might feel from this constrained obligation, inclined Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald to close with the proposals made by Dermot, who offered to give them, in fee, under homage to himself, the city of Wexford, and two cantreds (or hundreds) adjoining thereunto, if they would bring into Leinster, as early as they could in the next spring, a band of English and Welsh, to assist the attempt he then determined to make for the recovery of that realm. The bishop of St. David's, their brother, prevailed on Rhees ap Gryffyth to let them take this opportunity of withdrawing themselves out of Wales, and avoiding a war, in which they otherwise might be forced, by their contrary engagements, most unnaturally to fight against each other.

Dermot, therefore, having happily concluded his treaty with these two chiefs, and trusting also to that he had made with earl Strongbow, ventured to go into Leinster, and, lying concealed in a monastery, founded by him on the banks of a little river near Fernes, passed the winter unmolested

lefted by any of his enemies, who supposed him still in Great-Britain. The fidelity of the monks, in thus harbouring and protecting their unfortunate benefactor, deserves great praise. In this retreat, he negotiated, as privately as he could, with some of his most trusty friends, and gained from them information of the present state of Leinster, and, in general, of all Ireland. It appears that no care had been taken in the former, on his expulsion from thence, to make a proper provision for the government of it, by putting into his place, another prince of the family, which, during the course of many centuries past, had ruled over the province. O Ruark had destroyed the fort of Fernes, which Dermot had erected, and then returned with his forces, to that district in Conaught, where his principality lay. The monarch, Roderick O Conor, was busied in settling the partition of Munster, between MacCarthy and O Brian; which he did in such a manner, as much offended the latter. Leinster was left in a state of anarchy, very favourable to Dermot, who had skill enough to improve the negligence of his enemies, to his own advantage. Very early in the spring, he sent Maurice Regan, his interpreter and secretary, back into South Wales, to hasten the coming of Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald; empowering also that agent to treat with other persons, who might be willing to aid him, in the regaining his kingdom, by promising ample recompences, in lands of inheritance, to those who should choose to settle there, or in money, or *cattle*, to others. This procured him a few Flemings, from the colony of that nation, at Tenby and Haverford-West, and some Welsh, whom the son of a petty prince of South Wales had under his conduct. On the arrival of these, before the other succours he expected were ready, he put himself at their head, and, being joined by some bands of his adherents

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herents in Leinster, attempted to recover certain parts of that country, not prepared to oppose him. His enemies, who knew nothing of his winter residence in the monastery adjacent to Fernes, were much surprised at his sudden appearance in arms, and supposed him just landed : rumour greatly exaggerated the number of foreigners, who were under his banner ; upon which alarm, the Irish monarch, and Ternan O Ruark, with all possible diligence assembled some forces, and met him at Kil Osna. A skirmish ensued, in which was slain O Mahoni, a principal officer under Roderick ; and a second, in which fell the *tanist* of O Ruark (that is, the successor elect, to his principality) and the son of the Welsh prince, confederated with Dermot, whom the Irish annalists call, *the bravest youth of all Britain*. But Dermot, who had hoped that Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald would have come to his aid with their troops, before the Conaught militia could be drawn into Leinster, finding himself disappointed in this expectation, had recourse to a treaty with Roderick and O Ruark, submitting himself to the former, and paying to the latter, a hundred ounces of gold for his protection. The resentment of O Ruark was mitigated by this gift, and Roderick was content to leave Dermot in possession of ten cantreds in Leinster (out of one and thirty, whereof that province was composed) for the support of his dignity, taking from him seven hostages for his future fidelity. This was a capital error in the conduct of these princes, who might have crushed him before his auxiliaries could arrive ; but they were ignorant of the treaties he had made in Britain, and deceived by his fair professions, or called off from any further attention to him, by other objects, which seemed to them, more important at this juncture of time. Yet, soon afterwards, Roderick,

derick, on some report of new succours coming to Dermot from England, drew to Dublin a great army, from the several provinces under his dominion, in order to oppose the apprehended invasion: Ibidem. but, this fear being removed by other intelligence, he disbanded the greatest part of these troops; a hasty measure, of which he quickly repented: for, about the beginning of May in this year, eleven hundred and sixty-nine, Fitzstephen landed at an island in Banough bay, not far from Wexford, with thirty knights, who were all of his kindred or household, sixty more men at arms, and three hundred skilful archers, the flower of South Wales, selected by him for this service. Hibern. Expugnata. l. i. The chief himself (if his nephew, Giraldus Cambrensis, has painted him truly) was distinguished by a stature and strength of body, surpassing the ordinary course of nature, by a graceful dignity of aspect, by a sound and acute understanding, by agreeable manners, and a bountiful heart: but these perfections were disgraced, by an inordinate love of wine and women. Hervey of Mountmaurice, Strongbow's uncle, was deputed by that lord to assist Fitzstephen with his counsels in the conduct of this expedition, undertaken (as it seems) in concert with the earl. Maurice de Prendergast, a knight of the province of Pembroke, highly esteemed for his valour, set sail from Milford Haven, and landed at the same place, in Banough bay, the day after, with ten horsemen, and a considerable body of archers. Fitzgerald and the earl promised him and Fitzstephen to follow them into Leinster, as soon as the Levies they were making among their own vassals, or from the neighbouring districts inhabited by the Welsh, should be completed. The forces, now sent, would, they supposed, be sufficient to make themselves masters of some strong post, or fortified town on the coast, with the help of such Irish, as Dermot

Lambeth
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Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.

as Dermot might join to them. When that prince heard that Fitzstephen and Prendergraft were landed, he sent Donald Kevenagh, one of his natural sons, to welcome them in his name, and soon afterwards came himself at the head of five hundred of his best Leinster troops, kept in readiness for this service. On his arrival, the foreign chiefs and soldiers took an oath of fealty to him; and the next morning he led them in conjunction with his men, to storm the city of Wexford. The citizens, hearing of their approach to the suburbs, sallied forth, with intent to give them instant battle. They were all Ostmen, and near two thousand in number; but, when they came within sight of the enemy, and beheld the army drawn up, according to the excellent discipline of the Normans, the cavalry flanking the archers, and the horsemen glittering with their shields, habergeons, and helmets of polished steel, they were seized with a sudden terror, and, precipitately retiring, set fire to the suburbs, and betook themselves to the town. Fitzstephen, hereupon, commanded his men at arms to go and fill up the ditch, while his archers, at some distance, annoyed the Ostmen, who were posted on the ramparts and battlements, with continual showers of arrows. This being performed, he led on his men at arms to scale the walls. They advanced with loud shouts; but the citizens casting down, on the heads of the assailants, huge stones and beams of wood, (by one of which Richard Barry, a nephew to Fitzstephen, was tumbled into the ditch, and many others were much wounded,) this assault was repelled, and the general contented himself, that day, with burning all the ships that lay at anchor, in the strand before the town. The next morning, he resolved to renew the attempt, and, to prepare the men for it, ordered masses to be said before the several bands, but made his approaches more cautiously than

than before, intending (as it seems) to sap the walls, according to the rules of the military art in those times: which when the citizens saw, their hearts failed them, and they sought to capitulate. Two Irish bishops, who happened to be then in Wexford, mediated for them with Dermod, and obtained from him a pardon of their rebellion against him, on condition of their instantly surrendering the town, and delivering to him four hostages for their future obedience, chosen by himself.

Wexford being thus taken, the king very honourably performed his engagements, by giving it to Fitzstephen, with the two adjoining cantreds, for him and his brother. At the same time he bestowed upon Hervey of Mountmaurice, in recompence for his service, two other cantreds, situated between Wexford and Waterford, upon the sea coast. This first success of their arms, and the rewards it had gained them, excited these adventurers to further exploits. Many Irish and citizens of Wexford having joined them, they marched into Ossory, with about three thousand men, besides their own troops. The prince of that region, Fitzpatrick, had, some time before, in a fury of jealousy, put out the eyes of Dermod's eldest son; to revenge which outrage, as well as to punish the revolt, in which he had since been engaged, was the object of this expedition. But the army had not penetrated far into the country, when it was stopped by a natural fortification of bogs and woods, which Fitzpatrick, at the head of five thousand men, had rendered still more defensible, by strong entrenchments across the entrance of the pass. In attacking this post, Fitzstephen and his troops were several times driven back; which repulses at last so emboldened the Irish, that they ventured to pursue them into the plain, where the cavalry charged and routed them in an instant; and when these, with the impetuous shock of their lances, had thrown them to the ground,

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 4.

Lambeth
Manuscr.
Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. ut
supra.

ground, the Leinster foot of Dermod's party beheaded them with their axes. Two hundred heads, thus cut off, were brought and laid at Dermod's feet, who, viewing them one by one, and knowing the faces, was seized with such a transport of savage joy, that he leaped thrice, and, uniting a most discordant act of piety, to all the ferocity of an implacable spirit, with hands uplifted, and joined together in a posture of devotion, sung, over these miserable remains of his enemies, a loud thanksgiving to God; then taking up one, which was the head of a man he particularly hated, in the rage of his heart, he bit off the nose and lips! The fellness of this most inhuman deed rather irritated than satiated his barbarous thirst of revenge. He and Fitzstephen pursued, with unremitting alacrity, the advantage they had gained, carrying sword and fire into the inmost parts of the country, and meeting with little resistance, except in passing a defile, where the English, after driving the enemy from a post, at which a stand had been made, were engaged, both horse and foot, in a very dangerous bog, or marshy ground; and, being again attacked there, fought themselves out, with extreme difficulty, by their own dauntless valour; the Irish, who were with them, on the party of Dermod, doing nothing to assist them, but lying hid in the woods, until the danger was over, and then joining them to pursue the enemy they had routed. Dermod prevailed on Fitzstephen to continue this war, by repeated expeditions, until having received intelligence, that the whole Irish nation, under the orders of Roderick O Conor, their sovereign, was now arming against him, he granted a peace to the prince of Ossory: but the reconciliation, on both sides, was equally insincere.

Not long before this time, a general assembly of the Irish states had been called, on the alarm of the

Hibern. Expugn. l. 7. c. 5.

Lambeth Manuscr.

Hibern. Expugn. l. 1. c. 5.

the victories Dermot had obtained, with the aid of foreign troops. The bringing these into Ireland, was so justly resented by most of the nation, that they speedily got together a very numerous army, which Roderick led into Leinster. On their approach, many Irish, who had taken part with Dermot, again forsook him : but, notwithstanding this desertion, Fitzstephen and his men remained firm and undaunted. These, with a few of the king's most affectionate, or most courageous friends, and that prince himself, whose intrepidity was his greatest, if not his only virtue, took post in a valley, not far distant from Fernes, and encompassed with thick woods, steep mountains, and deep bogs. This strong ground they made yet stronger, by digging pits, at near distances, before the front of the camp; laying trees, which they had felled, across the pass; and using all other methods, which the military art of those days could contrive, to secure them against the assaults of an enemy far superior in numbers.

When the Irish monarch came up, and saw their post so fortified, he was afraid to attack them; but sent great presents, and promises of greater, to Fitzstephen, if he would retire out of Ireland, with all his troops. This being rejected, the same messengers negotiated with Dermot, and offered that prince the friendship of Roderick, and quiet possession of Leinster, if he would join his arms to theirs, for the total extermination and destruction of these foreigners, to which they vehemently urged him, as expedient and necessary, for the safety of their country. But, either he feared to trust their promises, or scrupled to consent to so atrocious a perfidy; for they returned without success; whereupon Roderick, despairing of any benefit by a treaty, endeavoured to animate his people to a battle, as the sole resource that remained: but the difficulty of storming so inaccessible

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 7—10.

cessible a camp, defended by such brave and well-disciplined soldiers, appearing unfurmountable, negotiations were renewed between the two kings, through the intervention of friends. It was agreed that all Leinster, under fealty to Roderick, as sovereign of Ireland, should be restored to Dermot, who promised, by a secret article of the treaty, to call over no more foreigners into that island, and to send away those he had already brought thither, as soon as he was quietly settled in his kingdom. His late breach of faith made it difficult and unsafe to trust him now; but he removed this objection by consenting to deliver (as a hostage) to Roderick one of his natural sons, whom he seemed very fond of, and to whom Roderick promised his own daughter in marriage, if the peace should continue inviolate and effectual. The Irish annalists say that he also gave a grandson in pledge to that monarch: but (however this may have been) he was a man whom no sureties could bind to any contract which his interest tempted him to break. For, soon afterwards, being told that Maurice Fitzgerald was safely landed at Wexford, with ten knights, thirty horsemen of an inferior degree, and about a hundred archers, he received them very gladly, and, leaving Fitzstephen employed in building a fort, on the summit of a rock, about three miles from Wexford, gave to Fitzgerald the chief command of his army, with which he marched to lay waste the territory of Dublin. I have said before, that the Ostmen, inhabitants of that city, had submitted to hold it of the kingdom of Leinster, in the reign of Murrough O Brian, the grandfather of Dermot. Yet, some time afterwards, they slew the son of that prince to whom they had sworn fealty; and (as the greatest indignity they could offer to his memory) buried him with a dog, in the middle of their town-house. His son,

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. p.
770. l. i. c.
17.
Ibidem, c. 11.

son, the present king, never forgot this offence; and, being further incensed by their acts of rebellion against himself, he cruelly ravaged the lands of the citizens, and put to the sword the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants he found upon them, until his fury was stopt by the necessity he was under of turning his arms another way. For, Donald, prince of Limerick, though brother to Roderick on the mother's side, was so dissatisfied with the share assigned to him by that monarch, in the partition of Munster between him and Mac Carthy, prince of Desmond, that he had lately engaged in a secret league with Dermod, whose daughter he had married, to assist each other to enlarge, as opportunity might occur, their respective dominions. But, on the first indications of hostilities on his part commencing in Munster, Roderick, always attentive to what passed in that country, led against him those forces he had raised against Dermod. The prince, thus attacked, sent immediately to demand the stipulated aid from his father-in-law Dermod, who, desirous to support him, entered into a treaty with the Ostmén of Dublin, by which he consented to leave the government of that city to Hasculf, a Dane, under fealty to himself. This convention being made, he commanded Fitzstephen to go instantly with the troops that served under his banner, and assist the prince of Limerick against O Conor. These quickly rendered Donald superior to his foes: the Irish monarch, defeated in several engagements, retired into Connaught; and Dermod, lifted up by the prosperity of his arms to higher views of ambition, was not satisfied with enjoying the kingdom of Leinster and all its dependencies, but conceived hopes of acquiring the monarchy of Ireland, which his grandfather had possessed. These thoughts he con-

Hibern. Expugnant l. i. c. 12.

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fided to Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald, who advised him, as the only means of success in so arduous a design, to renew his applications to the earl of Pembroke, and urge that Lord to fulfil the covenant he had made, without delay. A letter was accordingly written by Dermod, in which, after gently complaining of the earl for having deferred, until the autumn, to bring him those succours which ought to have come in the spring, he told him, that, if he would now hasten over with a powerful force, it would be easy to add the other kingdoms of Ireland to that of Leinster, which, without his help, was subdued.

Strongbow clearly perceiving, from all the accounts he received of what had been done in that island, and of what the adventurers had acquired by their service, that there was much to be gained by the enterprise now proposed, and no such danger to be feared as valour and good conduct might not find means to overcome, was desirous to accept the invitation. But, the letters patent, which Dermod had brought over from King Henry, containing only a licence to aid him in recovering his own kingdom of Leinster, which had been fully performed, it seemed necessary to the earl, before he engaged to undertake this new war, of a very different nature, that a further authority for it should be asked, and obtained, of his sovereign. Going therefore to the king, who was then in Normandy, he implored his permission to agree to the offers prest upon him by Dermod. Henry avoided to give him any positive answer; but he laid hold of some words which he thought might admit of a favourable construction, and, returning into England, remained quiet at Chepstow, until the beginning of May, when he sent over to Ireland a band of ten knights and seventy archers, under the conduct of Raymond, a very valiant young gentleman of his own household, who was son to an

an elder brother of Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald. These landed at a place not far distant from Waterford, under a rock called Dundolf, where they hastily raised a small fort of turf and wood, thinking they should be able to maintain themselves there until the earl of Pembroke's arrival. Hervey of Mountmaurice, with three knights, had joined them at their landing; and other succours were promised to be sent from Dermod; but, while these were preparing, the citizens of Waterford, who were jealous of foreign troops making a lodgement so near to the walls of their city, consulted with O Faolan, an Irish chieftain of Munster, who, being expelled from his country by the arms of Dermod, had taken refuge in their lands, with some of his people. He exhorted them to go and attack these invaders, before they had gained further strength. The counsel was approved: about three thousand marched out, and passed the river Suyr, which divided Leinster from Desmond, with an intention to storm the English fort. They came up to the ditch; when Raymond, transported by the ardour of his courage, or being persuaded that his safety consisted in shewing a contempt of the danger, sallied forth with his garrison, to give them battle. But the numbers were too unequal: he soon was forced to retire, and take shelter in the fort. His men had not time to shut the gate; so that some of the Ostmen, by whom they were closely pursued, entered into the fort; when Raymond suddenly turned, and, with a thundering voice calling his soldiers to defend their last retreat, run the foremost of those enemies, who had got within the gateway, through the breast, with his sword. This animated his troops; they came boldly to assist him: all the Ostmen who had past the inclosure of the rampart were instantly slain, or driven back on those without; terror seized the whole army: Raymond again sallied forth:

Hibern. Exp-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 14. 15.

they all fled before him : above five hundred were cut to pieces in their flight ; a much greater number was pushed into the sea, from the tops of the high rocks along the coast, which they had climbed up for safety ; and seventy of the principal citizens of Waterford were taken captives. A council of war was held within the fort, as soon as the action was over, to know in what manner these prisoners should be treated. Raymond gave his opinion for letting them be ransomed ; but Hervey of Mountmaurice, whose authority in the council was greater than his, advised to put them all to death, on account of the danger of keeping them in custody within the fort, and as a necessary example of terror to all Ireland, which a small number of foreigners could not hope to subdue, but by making themselves dreadful. In supporting this advice, he demanded of Raymond, whether he thought, if these men had been the conquerors, they would have shewn any mercy to him or his soldiers? and concluded with saying, that they ought either manfully to pursue the design they had boldly undertaken, or return home, and be gentle and tender-hearted there. The whole council agreed to this inhuman opinion, and it was executed with the most detestable cruelty ; those to whom the execution thereof was committed, first breaking the limbs of these unfortunate prisoners, and then throwing them down, from the top of the cliffs, into the sea : an act which stains the whole glory of their honourable victory, and which the king should have punished, when he came into that country, by some very signal mark of his royal displeasure against the adviser!

Hibern.
Expugnat.
l. i. c. 15.

Ibidem, c.
16.

During the course of these events, the earl of Pembroke had past through all the coasts of South Wales, from Chepstow to St. David's, gathering men to his standard. When he had completed his levies; partly by his own vassals, and partly by volun-

volunteers, whom poverty and courage incited to seek their fortune with him, he led them to embark in Milford Haven, where a fleet of transports, and all other necessaries for the war he intended to make, had carefully been provided. But as he was ready to sail, a positive order was brought to him from Henry, by which he was forbidden to go out of the realm. This occasioned some pause and irresolution in his mind: Yet, thinking himself ruined if he stayed in England, and having before him a fair prospect of wealth, honour, and power, in the enterprize to which he now was engaged, he boldly ventured to slight the king's command; and, setting sail with an army of about twelve hundred men, in which number were included two hundred knights, landed near Waterford, on the twenty-third day of August, in the year eleven hundred and seventy. The inhabitants of that town, after the loss they had suffered, not daring to stir out of their gates, and the English garrison at Dundolf being masters of the country on that side of the river, no opposition was made to this descent. The earl, who chose to begin his operations, in Ireland by taking Waterford, was desirous that the fame of so important an achievement should be all his own, and therefore would not wait for a conjunction with Dermot, nor draw the garrison from Dundolf; but, trusting wholly to the valour of his own men, allowed them only one day, which was the feast of St. Bartholemew, to refresh themselves after the fatigue of their voyage; and the next morning led them on, to storm the town. In this attempt, they were twice repulsed by the citizens, assisted by O Faolan; but Strongbow, seeing that a house, contiguous to the wall, was propt on the outside with timber, ordered some of his knights to cut the props; which being done, the house fell, and with it part of the wall. His troops immediately entered the breach so made,

Neubrigen-
sis,
l. i. c. 26.

Hibern.
Expugnat.
l. i. c. 16.

Ibidem.

and took the city, with great slaughter of the defenceless inhabitants, as well as of those they found in arms; every street being filled with bloody heaps of dead bodies. There was a tower, of which Reginald, a Dane, was governor, and to which, when they saw the enemy in the town, many persons of high rank had retired for safety. This also was taken, and in it Reginald himself, the Irish chief, O Faolan, and two princes of the Ostmen. These last were cut to pieces; but the two former were saved at the intercession of Dermod, who now arrived in the city, accompanied by Fitzstephen, Fitzgerald and Raymond. The earl received him in triumph; and this scene of horror was succeeded, within a few hours, by the festivities of a marriage, celebrated between that lord and Eva, the eldest daughter of Dermod, according to the contract which her father had made in his treaty at Bristol. Yet their joy was soon disturbed: for intelligence came to Dermod that the city of Dublin, under its governor, Hasculf, had shaken off all obedience to his authority, and had drawn to its aid a multitude of Irish (one writer says thirty thousand) alarmed by the report of an English invasion; their monarch himself being encamped not far off, at a place called Clandolkán. For the immediate suppression of this revolt, the king and his son-in-law thought it indispensably necessary, without a moment's delay, to force a passage to Dublin. With this intent, leaving only such a part of their troops as might be requisite to secure the forts they possessed, they collected all the rest, and marched boldly that way: but, having gained information that the woods and defiles between them and the city were occupied by the Irish, they left the usual road, and winded along the tops of the mountains of Glendolow, which were entirely clear of wood. The ambushes laid for them being thus avoided, the enemy

Hibern.
Expugnat.
l. i. c. 16.

Lambeth
Manuscr.

Hibern.
Expugnat.
l. i. c. 17.

enemy, seeing the good order of their march, to which no Irish troops had ever been accustomed, did not dare to attack them; so that they came, without loss, to the very walls of Dublin. As they lay before these, the Irish skirmished with them, Irish Annals. ineffectually, three days; at the end of which, upon intelligence given to Roderick, that his country of Conaught was invaded and laid waste by Donald O Brian, he was advised by his council to trust at this juncture the safety of Dublin to the inhabitants of that city, and go to preserve his own people, and his own demesne lands, from hostile depredations. With this advice he complied, chusing out of two evils that which he thought the least. Hasculf, before his revolt, had prudently strengthened the military force of his town as much as was in his power, but had principally relied on the help of the Irish; which defence having failed, his people were thrown into a great consternation. So much had they degenerated from the martial spirit of the Danes, and other brave northern nations, to which their progenitors originally belonged, that Dermot's secretary, Regan, being sent, Lambeth Manusc. Hibern. Expugnat. l. i. c. 17. in his name, to summon Hasculf to surrender the city to him, and to demand of the citizens thirty hostages for their future fidelity, all that desire of withdrawing themselves from his yoke, which had caused them to rebel, gave way to their fears; and they resolved to consent to these demands. But, while they were disputing on the choice of the hostages, the time granted to them for consultation was spent. Milo de Cogan, who led the English vanguard, observing the ramparts ill manned, attacked them suddenly, without orders; and his example was followed, in another quarter, by Raymond, who commanded the center; Dermot and the earl being posted, further off, in the rear. Surprise and terror, upon this unexpected assault, rendered the guards on the ramparts, who

supposed

supposed that a peace had been absolutely concluded, incapable of resistance. The assailants scaled the walls, and, entering into the streets, massacred all they found there, until they had gained a complete possession of the city, and all its strong holds. Yet the governor and the most considerable citizens escaped from this slaughter, by throwing themselves into ships that lay ready in the harbour, and sailing from thence, with the help of a favourable wind, to some of the Orkney islands. The rich plunder of the houses was given to the soldiers : but, when Dermot made his entry into the city, which he did the same day, his thirst of revenge being satiated with the blood already shed there, he forbade any further destruction of the people, and, having taken proper measures to secure to himself this important acquisition, gave the government of it to Milo de Cogan, at the recommendation of Strongbow, who entirely directed his military affairs, and whom he now sent from Dublin to invade and lay waste the territory of Meath.

Hibern.
Expugnat.
l. i. c. 17.

Irish Annals. In the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine, Dermot O Melachlin, the lawful king of that realm, had been treacherously murdered by Donald, his kinsman, who, usurping the government, was justly expelled from it by Roderick O Conor. But that monarch, instead of causing (as he ought to have done) some other prince of the royal house of Meath to be regularly elected, made O Ruark a temporary administrator of the eastern part of that province, and retained the western himself. The king of Leinster, in hatred to his old enemy O Ruark, ordered the country thus under the rule of that chieftain, and likewise his patrimonial lands in East Conaught, to be cruelly ravaged ; which being performed without any resistance on his part, the English forces turned southwards, and expelled the prince of Ossory, Donchad Fitzpatrick, out of that

that principality ; as they also did another prince of the family of O Conor out of Hy Faolan, or Ophally, (as it is called by some writers) another district of Leinster. The Irish annalists say, that Dermod himself accompanied his auxiliaries in these expeditions: but, whether they acted with him, or by commission from him, his employing them in this manner gave so great and just offence to the monarch of Ireland, that he wrote to him this letter :

“ Against the tenour of the peace concluded
“ between us, you have called over a multitude of
“ foreigners into this island. Nevertheless, while
“ you confined yourself within the limits of your
“ own kingdom of Leinster, we bore it with pa-
“ tience. But now, seeing that, without regard to
“ your oath, or compassion for your hostage de-
“ livered into our hands, you have insolently past
“ the bounds prescribed to you, and the confines
“ of your country, we give you notice ; either
“ restrain for the future the excursions of the fo-
“ reigners whom you have brought over, or we
“ will assuredly send you the head of your son cut
“ off by our command.”

Dermod replied in a very disdainful style, and concluded by saying, “ he would not lay down
“ his arms until he had conquered all Conaught,
“ and acquired for himself the monarchy of Ire-
“ land, which he claimed from his grandfather,
“ Murrough O Brian.”

On receiving this answer, Roderick executed his threat, after having pronounced, from his royal seat of justice, a formal sentence of death on the unfortunate hostage.

When this sacrifice had been made to national vengeance, he assembled at Armagh the whole clergy of Ireland, who unanimously declared, that the invasion of their country by the English ought to be accounted a judgment of God upon them for
the

Hibern.
Expugnat.
l. i. c. 18.

the sins of the nation, and more particularly for a practice, of which they had long been guilty, the buying for slaves English children from pirates or thieves who had stolen them, or from merchants who had bought them of needy or covetous parents; which infamous traffick was not uncommon in England. The council therefore decreed, and the legislature enacted, *that all the English slaves, in the whole extent of Ireland, should presently be set free.*

Ibid. c. 19. This was evidently done, to take from that nation the only colourable pretence of a publick quarrel, or complaint, against the Irish. But the king of England himself, before that time, had resolved, for reasons of policy, to put a stop to the conquests of the earl of Pembroke in Ireland. Nothing could be more repugnant to all his designs, or the interest of his people, than that a peer of his realm, at the head of an army of private adventurers, should obtain for himself the monarchy of that island, and hold it as a sovereign and independent state. Nor could he bear the provoking and audacious insult on his royal authority, which Strongbow had been guilty of, by going into Ireland against his express prohibition. As soon, therefore, as he heard that Waterford was taken, he published an edict, by which he strictly forbid all commerce with Ireland from any parts of his dominions, and commanded all his subjects who had gone over thither, to return home before the Easter festival next ensuing, on pain of perpetual banishment and forfeiture of all their estates. The earl quickly found himself in great want of all necessaries, and forsaken by many of his knights and soldiers. Alarmed at this, and consulting with the wisest of his friends, how to act in so perilous a state of affairs, he dispatched Raymond to Henry, who then was in Aquitaine, and sent by him a letter, in which he touched very lightly on a suppo-
sed

sed consent of that monarch to his aiding of Der-^{Hibern.}
mod, given to him in Normandy the year before,^{Expugnat.}
and concluded with these words, "Whatsoever
" the favour of fortune has bestowed on me in
" Ireland, either of the patrimony of Dermod,
" or any other, as I owe it entirely to your royal
" munificence, so shall it all return to you, and
" be disposed of according to your absolute will
" and pleasure."

This was what Henry wanted; but he prudently delayed to give any answer, until he had taken other measures to secure the attainment of the great end he had in view.

In the mean time, king Dermod made another ^{Irish Annals.}
incurſion into the country of O Ruark, his capital enemy, and Roderick's warmest friend: but, attempting to ſtorm that prince's camp, he was repulſed with diſgrace, and ſoon afterwards retired into Leinſter, leaving Donald O Melachlin, whom he had lately engaged to maintain, by force of arms, in the government of Eaſt-Meath, expoſed to the attacks of O Ruark, who ſoon drove him from thence, while Roderick was employed in vigorously proſecuting the war in North Munſter againſt Donald O Brian. There can be no ſtronger proof of the total want of publick ſpirit in the Iriſh; at this time, than that even the great object of expelling the Britiſh troops, whoſe depredations were ſo grievous, and whoſe continuance in Ireland was ſo formidable to them all, could not make them lay aſide their private animosities, and join their monarch in ſupporting the national cauſe with their whole united ſtrength!

About the cloſe of this year, eleven hundred and ſeventy, King Dermod died at Fernes, of an unknown and horrid diſtemper (as the Iriſh annaliſts ſay) in a ſtate of impenitence, and the victim of divine vengeance for the many wrongs he had done, and the many miſchiefs his turbulent and lawleſs ambition,

ambition, during a reign of four and forty years, had brought on his country. No mention is made by Giraldus Cambrensis, or other writers in those times, of any extraordinary circumstances in his sickness or death: but, had he never been guilty of any other crime than bringing the English adventurers to settle in Ireland and make conquests there, it would be no wonder that the hatred and rage of his countrymen should take every method of rendering his memory odious to posterity: nor can he justly be spoken of by any historian without detestation, as one whom neither divine nor human laws, nor the natural instinct of paternal affection to an innocent son, whose life he had pledged for the security of his own suspected faith, could restrain from pursuing the bent of his passions, which were of the worst kind, and which the courage and cunning observable in his character made more dangerous to the publick. The earl of Pembroke, his son-in-law, succeeded to his kingdom, pursuant to the compact between them, and in consequence, I presume, of a forced election made during the life-time of Dermot.

Hibern.
Expugnat.
l. i. c. 21.

Not long afterwards, Hasculf, the late governor of Dublin, having procured from the Orcades an army of Norwegians, and other inhabitants of those isles, well armed and well disciplined, under the conduct of John, surnamed *the Furious*, embarked them on board of sixty ships, and sailing directly up the mouth of the Liffey, landed with them, and attacked the eastern gate of Dublin. Milo de Cogan, whom Strongbow had entrusted with the government of this capital of his kingdom, while he was employed in visiting and securing his other towns and forts, opposed this assault with great valour. The enemy was repulsed, with the loss of above five hundred men; and Cogan, full of ardour, sallied forth at the head of some of his knights and men at arms, to pursue

pursue the beaten troops, and infest their retreat :
 but, their numbers being much superior to his,
 a sharp conflict ensued : many of his soldiers were
 slain, and the rest struck with terror, at seeing
 the thigh of a knight, completely covered with
 iron, cut off by one blow of a Danish battle-axe ;
 which exploit is attributed, by one of the writers
 of that age, to the Norwegian chief himself. At
 this instant, while the English, endeavouring to
 retire within their walls, were hard pressed in the
 entrance of the eastern gate of the city, Richard
 de Cogan, Milo's brother, agreeably to an order
 given to him before, issued forth from another
 gate on the southern side of Dublin, with a body
 of horse ; came round, unobserved, to the rear
 of the assailants, and, suddenly raising a loud shout,
 fell upon them ; which unthought-of attack so
 dismayed them, that they immediately broke
 their ranks, and fled. Few were saved ; the En-
 glish cavalry intercepting their flight, and an Irish
 chieftain, or prince, who had given hostages to
 the governor, joining in the pursuit with all his
 clan. John *the Furious*, after making a very
 brave defence, was honourably slain upon the field
 of battle, by Walter de Riddlesford, an English
 knight, and the horsemen of his troop. Hasculf,
 flying to his ships, was taken prisoner on the shore,
 and brought into Dublin. When he appeared
 before the governor, and a great assembly of
 soldiers and citizens in the town-house, he said,
 with a sullen haughtiness in his looks, " We came
 " hither with few forces, and this was only a be-
 " ginning of our efforts. If my life be saved,
 " much greater will be made hereafter." Milo
 de Cogan, who intended to admit him to ransom,
 was so angry at the insolence of this bravado, that
 he commanded his head to be instantly cut off.
 It would have been a magnanimity more becoming
 a soldier,

Lambeth
Manuscr.

Hibern.
Expugnat.
l. i. c. 29.
Lambeth
Manuscr.

a soldier, to have set him at liberty, in contempt of his menace.

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 22.

But, though this enterprize had failed, the Irish monarch, encouraged by Henry's proclamation, and the distress it had brought upon the earl of Pembroke, commanded the forces of the several princes obedient to his power to be all collected together; and being secretly assisted by Laurence O Tool, archbishop of Dublin, solicited Godred, king of Man, who held that, with the Hebrides and the Orkney isles, in fee of the crown of Norway, to assist him with a fleet, which might shut up, by sea, the city of Dublin, while the Irish army, assembled under his standard, should blockade it by land. The earl of Pembroke, informed of these designs, threw himself into the town, with Fitzgerald and Raymond. The last of these was returned, without bringing from Henry, to whom he had been sent, any favourable answer; but yet with hopes which gave some encouragement to the earl to dispatch another agent, namely Hervey de Mountmaurice, to negotiate with that king.

Ibidem.

Soon afterwards, Godred, pursuant to his treaty with Roderick O Conor, sent a fleet of thirty ships, well manned with soldiers, to cruise before the port of Dublin; and a vast army of Irish beleaguered that city on every other side; not attempting to assault it, but proposing to reduce it more securely by famine. This blockade, which entirely prevented the importation of any provisions, had continued almost two months, when Donald Kavenagh, Dermod's son, having found means to elude the vigilance of the enemy, acquainted the earl of Pembroke that Fitzstephen was besieged, in his fort at Carrick near Wexford, by the citizens of that town and the Irish of Kingsale, to the number of three thousand, having with him but five knights, or men at arms, and a small company of archers; concluding,

Lambeth
Manuscr.

concluding, that, if he was not relieved within three days, he must inevitably perish. The earl immediately assembled a council of war, and laid before them the intelligence he had received. Fitzgerald, who had left his wife and children in the custody of his half-brother Fitzstephen, within the fort of Carrick, represented to the council, how shameful it would be, to suffer that brave gentleman, who first had led them the way to all their conquests in Ireland, now to perish unassisted! He likewise shewed them to what an extremity of danger they themselves were reduced; their provisions almost consumed; no hopes of getting more, either by land or by sea; England rendered as hostile to them as Ireland itself. In these circumstances (he told them) they had no resource but their valour; which they ought to use, to the best advantage they could, before famine had deprived them of all their strength. He therefore advised them instantly to fall on the Irish, whose numbers, cowardly and ill-armed, would not be able to withstand their bold and unexpected attack. This opinion was strongly supported by Raymond, who added, that he thought they should begin, by assailing the quarters of Roderick; because, if he, who was the chief of the whole confederacy, were vanquished, the defeat of the rest would be easy. To this Strongbow agreed, and selected from his garrison three bodies of horse; the first, which formed the vanguard, consisting of twenty knights under the conduct of Raymond; the second, which formed the center, consisting of thirty, commanded by Milo de Cogan; and the third, which formed the rear, consisting of forty, led by himself and Fitzgerald. To these were added all the esquires belonging to the knights, who fought, as they did, on horseback; and some infantry composed of the citizens of Dublin. According to one account, the whole number, thus arrayed,

Hibern. Expugnata. ut supra.

See the Lambeth Manuscript.

arrayed, amounted to six hundred, each division having in it two hundred men.

At the head of this small force, which was all that could be spared from the necessary guard of the city, did the earl sally forth, about the ninth hour of the day, to attack an army of thirty thousand men! These they found quite unguarded, apprehending no such attempt, and distracted with fear when they saw themselves assaulted. Roderick, into whose quarters they first broke, was then bathing. His people all fled, and it was with great difficulty that he himself escaped by flight, on the alarm being given. The same panic terror, at the approach of the English, seized and dissipated also the other armies of Irish, that were quartered to the south and north of Dublin. They scarce made any resistance. At the close of evening, the English, having pushed the pursuit as far as prudence would permit, returned into the city, triumphant, and loaded with the spoils of the enemy, whose whole baggage was taken, and moreover such a quantity of corn, meal, and pork, as was sufficient to victual the city for a year. In all the action they had lost but one man, a foot-soldier. Of the Irish forces were slain, about fifteen hundred; but the whole multitude was dispersed; and the next morning, all the ships, which blocked up the port, seeing their confederates gone, sailed away to the isles from whence they came.

V. Lambeth
Manuscr.

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. ut
supra.

Strongbow, after he had left a proper garrison in Dublin, and put it under the command of Milo de Cogan, marched, with the utmost diligence, to attempt the delivery of the fort of Carrick. On his way, he was stoppt in the country of Idrome, at a narrow pass, which O Ryan, the petty prince of that district, had seized and fortified. But no advantage of ground, or inequality of numbers, could balance the superiority of valour,

valour, arms, and discipline, which the English troops, and the Welsh, incorporated with them in this service, had over the Irish. Strongbow ordered the post to be attacked: his commands were bravely executed: the young Meyler Fitz Henry, whose father was a bastard of King Henry the First, by Nesta, the mother of Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald, distinguished himself here above all the other knights. Nevertheless, by a stone, which one of the Irish cast at him, he was knocked off his horse: but an arrow shot from the bow of one Nicholas, a monk, whose profession did not hinder him from taking part in this warfare, having mortally wounded O Ryan, the death of their chief deprived his army of all spirit: they fled; and the enemy, with the loss of only one man, made their way through the pass to the open and level country. But, as they advanced towards Wexford, they were met by certain messengers, who informed them that the castle, which they were going to relieve, had been taken by a fraud. For, after several assaults, in which the besiegers, who were more than twenty to one, had shamefully been repulsed by the valour of the garrison, and particularly of one knight, or man at arms, (whose name was William Nott) the bishops of Wexford and Kildare, with many more of the clergy, arrayed in their sacred vestments, came to the brink of the ditch, and took a solemn oath, in the hearing of the English, on some relicks of saints which they had brought for this purpose, that the Irish were masters of Dublin; that the earl of Pembroke, and Fitzgerald, and all the English in that city, were cut to pieces; and that Roderick, at the head of all the Irish troops, (those of Leinster included) was hastening from thence to take possession of Wexford. They added, that, out of pure affection to Fitzstephen, as he had behaved himself mildly and generously

Hibern.
Expugn.
l. i. c. 28.

Ibidem, c. 25.

generously towards them in his government there, they gave him this information, to the end that, before the arrival of these forces, which it would be impossible for him to resist, he, and all who were with him, might, in safety and freedom, be sent over to Wales. Deceived by this perjury, and the sacred character and dignity of those who swore, he surrendered his fortrefs, which he had no sooner done, than some of his people were murdered; and all the others, after having been cruelly beaten, were chained and thrown into prison; he himself being detained, under strict custody, in irons. But, upon hearing that Strongbow had forced the Irish to raise the siege of Dublin, and was advancing to Wexford, the associates in this impious and execrable fraud were so dismayed, that they set fire to their city, and, with their effects and all the captives they had taken, retired into an isle in the mouth of the harbour, which was a sanctuary much respected by the Irish. Yet, not thinking it safe to trust to this, they notified to the earl, that, if he followed them thither, they would send him the heads of all the prisoners there confined. On receiving this message, he turned aside from Wexford, and went to Waterford, where he found his plenipotentiary, Hervey de Mountmaurice, just landed from England. This gentleman brought him letters, from the friends in whose opinion he most confided, which exhorted him, without losing a moment's time, to repair to Henry in that realm. He did so, and found him at Newnham in Gloucestershire, preparing to pass, with an army, into Ireland.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. i.
c. 28.

Whatever hopes had been given of a kind reception, the indignation of Henry against the earl appeared so implacable at his first arrival, that he even refused to admit him into his presence: but
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the majesty of the crown, which his former contempt had offended, having been satisfied by his present humiliation, and every point which the king was desirous to obtain having been cheerfully granted, at length, by the intervention of Hervey of Mountmaurice, a reconciliation was concluded on the following conditions.

The earl was obliged to renew his homage and fealty, and to give up to the king, in full and absolute property, the metropolitan city of Dublin, with the cantreds adjacent, and all the other sea-port towns, with all the castles or fortresses possessed by him in Ireland; the rest of his acquisitions or conquests in that island remaining to him and his heirs, under homage and fealty to the crown of England. Henry also consented to restore to him his whole estate in this kingdom, which had justly been seized, as a forfeiture to the crown, on the act of disobedience he had committed. This agreement being made, they went together to Pembroke, where the king resided some time, while his officers were collecting in Milford Haven a navy of four hundred and forty large ships, to transport from thence into Ireland him and his army, which consisted of about five hundred knights, all heavy-armed horsemen, with their esquires or attendants, who composed a lighter-armed cavalry, and a very numerous infantry, all expert archers.

The state of Wales had undergone a great alteration since the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine, by the death of Owen Gwyneth. That prince had reigned, with a very high reputation, two and thirty years, being a courageous, a prudent, and a fortunate commander; no less beloved by his people, on account of his civil virtues and good government of his state, than admired for his valour and military talents. He may indeed be accused of having violated the fealty he had

Neubrigensis, l. ii. c. 26.

Hibern. Expugnata. l. i. c. 28, 29. Hoveden. Benedict. Abb. ad. ann. 1171. Irish Annals.

Dr. Powel's Welsh Chron. sub. ann. 1169. See also Wynn's Hist. of Wales.

sworn to King Henry, without sufficient cause ; but by his countrymen this fault was accounted a virtue, as, in revolting from the allegiance he had been forced to submit to, he complied with the general desire of the nation, and put himself at the head of what they deemed an honourable confederacy, to recover their ancient independence and freedom. After his decease, great disputes arose in his family concerning the succession. He had left by two wives, who were of very noble blood, six sons and two daughters, and by different concubines nine illegitimate sons. Prince Jorwerth, the eldest of those born in matrimony, having in his youth received a blow which broke his nose, was therefore esteemed by the Welsh unfit to reign ; and, their customs admitting bastards to inherit the government, Howel, a natural son of Owen, by an Irish woman of low birth, succeeded to his father, because he was reputed a more valiant soldier than any of his brothers : the Welsh esteeming their princes (as their own Chronicle tells) *not by their mothers and birth, but by their prowess and valour*. Yet David, Owen's eldest son by his second wife, Christiana, who descended from the ancient kings of Wales, would not submit to this prince, who was born of a foreigner ; but raised against him an army equal to his, at the head of which, in the year eleven hundred and seventy, he fought with him and slew him. By this victory, he obtained the dominion of North Wales ; none of his brothers aspiring to contend with him for it, after the death of Howel ; but, during the rage of this unnatural war, the confederacy of the Welsh, for the total expulsion of the English and Flemings out of their country, was interrupted and broken, which gave those colonies time to recover their strength. Nor would David, in the beginning of a yet unsettled government, after so much blood had

Dr. Powell's
Welsh
Chron. p.
2. 6.

Ibid. p. 227.
Wynn's Hist.
of Wales.
adann.
1170.

had been spilt, and the force of North Wales so impaired by civil discord, draw on himself the resentment of a powerful king, whose friendship and aid he might want. Rhees ap Gryffyth indeed, who was at all times the first to take up arms, and the last to lay them down, had made an inroad into the territories of Owen Cyvelioc, one of Henry's Welsh vassals in a part of Powisland: but now, when that monarch was come into his neighbourhood with a formidable army, which his forces alone could not resist, he listened to overtures of reconciliation, which encouraged him to go and throw himself at the feet of his offended sovereign. Henry, whose nature inclined him to forgive a suppliant enemy, and whose policy made him wish a pacification of Wales in this conjuncture, received him very graciously, and confirmed to him all he then possessed, but took from him fourteen hostages, and demanded of him, for the service of his Irish expedition, three hundred horses and fifty yoke of oxen. These he promised to give, and departed so well satisfied with the favours he had now obtained from the king, that he forgot the severity used by that prince against his sons in the year eleven hundred and sixty-five, or thought it so just, on account of the many repeated violations of faith on his side, as not to deserve his resentment. Henry, finding that his spirit would more easily be subdued by benefits than by force, continued to shew him great kindness, and at Pembroke granted to him the whole province of Cardigan, with the three districts of Stratywy, Arustly, and Elvel. Grateful returns being made for these concessions, he added yet a further mark of grace and confidence, by restoring to him Howel, his most beloved son, who had been one of the hostages demanded at the time of his late submission.

Welsh
Chron. p. 30.
Wynn's Hist.
of Wales.

We are also told, by an antient contemporary historian, that, while the king was at Pembroke, David ap Owen, with many of the nobles of North Wales, came to wait on him there; and we may be sure that this prince was not admitted to his presence, without acknowledging his sovereignty by doing him homage.

Thus, while Henry was meditating the conquest of Ireland, the kingdoms, or principalities, of North and South Wales were reduced to obedience, by the terror of his power, without his having been forced to draw the sword! But, in passing through Monmouthshire, he thought it necessary, to take into his own custody Caerleon upon Uske, which was before in the hands of Jorwerth, a Welsh lord, whose fidelity he suspected. He likewise garrisoned all the castles of the English barons in South Wales, being dissatisfied with those lords, for having made no opposition to the earl of Pembroke's departure with his fleet from their coasts, though they knew it was contrary to their sovereign's orders, publickly declared at that time. Having thus secured all behind him, he sailed from Milford Haven with his army to Ireland, and after a prosperous voyage landed near Waterford, on the feast of St. Luke, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-one.

Welsh
Chron.
p. 230.
Hibern. Ex.
pugn. l. i.
c. 29.

Benedict
Abb.
Hoveden ad
ann. 1171.

Hibern. Ex.
pugn. l. i.
c. 29.
Irish annals.

During the absence of Strongbow, Raymond staying at Waterford with the troops the earl had led thither, O Ruark took advantage of the weakness of the garrison which remained in Dublin, to make an attempt on that city. He brought before it an army of undisciplined Irish, hastily raised, for this purpose, in East Conaught and in Ulster: but, while these, with loud cries, and a kind of furious, disordered impetuosity, were rushing on to assault the ditch and walls, Milo de Cogan sallied out, and unexpectedly charging them, at the head of a small but valiant troop, put to flight the whole multitude

tude, with a dreadful slaughter of them, which the pursuers only stopped from a weariness of killing. Among the dead was the prince of Breffny, O Ruark's son, a youth of extraordinary merit. The terror caused by this defeat prevented any further hostilities of the Irish against the English in Leinster, until the arrival of Henry, and contributed to produce a general despair in the nation of being able to resist the mighty forces he brought, which it would be in his power to augment at pleasure, by new supplies out of England. Nor could any desire of saving the liberty of their country from a foreign domination suspend the effects of that discord among the Irish themselves, the causes of which were laid in the bad constitution of their political system: for, even at this crisis, a civil war in North Ulster prevented those of that province from giving any attention to the defence of that island, which so potent a king was openly and notoriously preparing to invade. It must in truth be acknowledged, that no enterprise of this kind was ever better timed; all circumstances concurring to facilitate the success of Henry's design, which, though formed by ambition, was founded on reasons of the most consummate prudence.

Irish Annals.

Soon after the king's arrival at Waterford, the citizens of Wexford brought to him their captive, Fitzstephen, as a criminal in bonds; making a merit of having delivered him up to the justice of his sovereign, without whose leave they supposed he had presumed to make war (the first of all his countrymen) against them and the Irish, in a time of settled peace, a peace that for many ages had never been violated between Ireland and England. Henry shewed them great kindness, and, after having, in their presence, reprimanded Fitzstephen, with much seeming indignation, for his rashness and presumption, he added terrible menaces of the punishments

Hibern. Expugnatio. l. i. c. 31.

punishments due to an offence of this nature, and sent him loaded with chains, to be kept under strict custody, as a prisoner of state, in Reginald's tower.

This gentleman might have pleaded, in vindication of himself, the letters patent which the king had given to Dermot: but he was conscious that, by some of his achievements in Ireland, he had exceeded the bounds prescribed in those letters; and it is not improbable that he secretly knew, or might comfort himself with the hope, that the violence of the king's resentment was feigned. Certain it is, that Henry sought, by all his acts at this time, rather to appear the protector, than the enemy of Ireland; which produced such happy effects, that Dermot MacCarthy, prince of Desmond, voluntarily came and submitted himself to him, swore fealty, and gave him hostages for his faithful performance of the obligations to which he then was bound, particularly for the payment of an annual tribute. This, I presume, was accepted, in lieu of those fruits of feudal tenure, which were paid by the vassals of the crown in England, but which could not be so easily levied in Ireland, until a better settlement should be made of the English government there; which would necessarily be a work of time.

Hibern. Exp-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 31.

Ware, c.
xxvii.

The prince of Desmond bore the title of King of Corke, Desmond having been anciently a portion of that district which is called in some histories, and even charters of those times, *the kingdom of Cork*: but the city itself, with some lands adjacent thereunto, was in the hands of the Ostmen; and Henry made it a part of the demesne of the crown, leaving the rest of the province together with Desmond, to be held of him in chief, by this prince. From Waterford, he advanced, at the head of his army, to Lismore, and from thence to Castrel, near which, on the banks of the river

Hibern. Exp-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 31.

river Shure, Donald O Brian, prince, or king, of Limerick and of Thomond, came to meet him, swore fealty, and agreed to pay him tribute; as did likewise, soon afterwards, the prince of Offory, with all the lesser potentates of the south of Ireland, whom he sent back to their several territories carested and loaded with presents. From Cashel he returned to Waterford, where his prisoner, Fitzstephen, being again brought before him, he willingly was persuaded, at the intercession of his nobles, to set him free: but took from him Wexford, with the territory thereunto belonging, and annexed it (as he had done the other towns of the Ostmen) to his royal demesne in that island; thinking it necessary, according to the principles he had followed in his agreement with Strongbow, that all the fortified towns, and more especially the sea-ports, should be in his own hands. Nor did the Wexfordians desire any greater favour of him, than to hold their city under him, as his immediate tenants, instead of being subjected to the government of Fitzstephen, whose vengeance they feared, or of any other English lord.

After a short abode at Waterford, the king marched to Dublin. The citizens, whose chief commerce depended upon England, and was so great in those days that William of Newbury says, *it rivalled that of London*, received him with much joy. Thither came to him O Ruark, and many potentates of the north of Ireland, who rendered themselves vassals and tributaries to him, as those of the south had done before. But the supreme monarch of Ireland, Roderick, king of Conaught, unwilling to give up the sovereignty he enjoyed, delayed to follow the example of these inferior princes. Yet, after some hesitation, he yielded to meet, on the borders of his kingdom, Hugh de Lacy and William Fitzaldelm, impowered by commission from Henry to receive his allegiance, and

V. Neubrigenſis, l. ii. c. 26.
Hibern. Expugnatio. l. i. c. 32.
Benedict. Abb. Hoveden.

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 32.

and settle the tribute he was to pay; which they accordingly did, and, in the name of their master, granted him peace on those terms. Giraldus Cambrensis observes, that this prince's submission *did virtually subject the whole monarchy of Ireland, and all the inferior kings or chiefs, of whom he was the head and ruler, to the dominion of Henry.* But there were none of these, except the princes of Ulster, who, before his submission, had not personally, *by their own immediate act and deed,* acknowledged that dominion: and in Ulster itself, the southern provinces, governed by Murrogh O Carol, had by him been subjected to the sovereignty of England; though the northern parts, which their distance, and the winter now coming on, secured against any danger of a present attack, remained as yet independent. These undoubtedly would have been reduced to obedience before the end of the next summer, if other affairs had not forced the English monarch to leave his work unfinished.

Benedict.
Abb. tom. i.
ad ann. 1171
Hoveden,
pars posterior,
f. 301.

Some antient writers affirm, that on Henry's first landing, the archbishops, bishops and abbots of Ireland, *had all received that prince as lord and king of the whole island,* swearing fealty to him and to his heirs for ever, and testifying their acknowledgement of his sovereignty by charters, which they gave to him as perpetual memorials thereof. Yet the silence of Giraldus Cambrensis on this fact, and the improbability that all the prelates of Ireland should have been permitted to go to Henry at Waterford, and own him for their sovereign, before any of the kings, or other inferior rulers of their several countries, had submitted to his power, would incline one to doubt whether the time of these acts, said to have been done by those prelates, is accurately stated.

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 32.

Henry kept the Christmas festival of the year eleven hundred and seventy-one in Dublin, the metropolis

metropolis of his new-acquired kingdom: but, there being no house in that city spacious enough to contain the numerous court, expected to attend him upon this occasion, he ordered one to be built, without the walls, not of brick or of stone, for the construction of which there was not time, but of smoothed twigs or wattles, after the Irish fashion. Here he feasted all the princes and nobility of Ireland, who had done homage to him, with a magnificence proper to draw their respect, and an affability requisite to conciliate their affections.

Soon afterwards he convened, by his royal mandate, at Cashel, a national synod of all the Irish clergy, for the reformation of their church, agreeably to the promise he had made to pope Adrian, as the condition upon which that pontiff granted to him the very extraordinary bull before recited. In this assembly, to which he sent one of his chaplains and two dignified clergymen, the bishop of Lismore presided, as apostolical legate, though the archbishops of Dublin and of Tuam were present. Several canons were made, and ratified by the king, for the due celebration of regular and orderly marriages, and for the annulling of those which were incestuous and illicit; for the baptising of children within the church, and the catechising them at the church-door; for the burying of the dead, who had been duly confessed, with the proper rites and ceremonies: and finally, for the establishment of an entire conformity in divine worship and all matters relating thereunto, between England and Ireland.

The abuse, which gave occasion to one of these canons, concerning the baptism of infants, is thus explained by Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough. He says "it was the custom, in several parts of Ire-
" land, that, on the birth of a child, his father, or
" any other person, plunged him three times in
" water, or, if the family was not very poor,
" in

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 34.

Tom. i.
p. 30.

“ in *milk*; which water, or *milk*, “after the immersion was over, was thrown into the sink: to prevent which profanation, the council made this decree for baptizing in the church.” Others were made for the particular benefit of the clergy; to enforce the payment of tithes to the parochial priests; to exempt all the lands and possessions of the church from all impositions exacted by the laity, especially those most usual in Ireland; and to declare, that, as in the committing of homicide they were free from the correction of secular justice, so should they be from any share with the other kindred of a layman convicted thereof, in the payment of a pecuniary composition, or fine, which the laws of Ireland allowed to the family of the slain.

It certainly was not agreeable to the inclinations of Henry, or his system of government, that any immunities of this kind, and more especially the last-mentioned, should be granted to the clergy: but they had been made the conditions of Adrian's bull; and he thought it necessary to establish his dominion in Ireland, not merely on force, and the submission of the Irish princes and nobles, which in some was unwilling, and in few quite spontaneous, but on the real attachment of a party there to his service. Such a party could most easily, in the outset of his reign, be found in the clergy. The abbot of Peterborough says, that, before the holding of this council, the greater part of the Irish nation had never paid tithes, nor understood that they were due: and therefore the establishing of this imposition by the royal authority, and enforcing obedience to it, was such a bribe to the priesthood, as, together with the exemption from all criminal justice decreed at the same time in their behalf, must have rendered them very zealous to reduce the whole island under

der the power of Henry, and maintain it in subjection to his commands.

It appears that this council was not merely a synod of ecclesiasticks, but a national assembly, or parliament; for, by one of its decrees, a liberty was given to the Irish, under certain regulations, to dispose of their personal estates by will. The acts of it concluded with these remarkable words:

“ It is most proper and just, that, as Ireland has, by divine Providence, received a lord *and king* from England, so likewise she should from thence receive a better form of life. For, to that magnanimous king, both the church and state of this island entirely owe whatever advantage they have gained in the settlement of peace and the encrease of religion: seeing that, before his coming into Ireland many kinds of evils had, for a long time past, prevailed there, which, by his power and goodness, are now abolished.”

It is reasonable to infer from these last words, that a reformation had been made, not only in the spiritual, but civil state of Ireland, before this time, by giving the Irish a better constitution of government, and a better rule of life and action, than their barbarous brehon law. Accordingly, we are told by Matthew Paris, that a council, or parliament, was held by Henry at Lismore, *where the laws of England were thankfully received by all present, and an oath was taken to observe them.* It also appears, that in this, or in some other assembly, while that prince was in Ireland, he enacted statute laws for the government of that kingdom; there being a reference to one of them, and express confirmation thereof, in an Irish act of the second year of Richard the Third. Nor can any thing be more clear, from the grants and charters of those times, than that the English tenures, and the laws or customs relating thereunto, were introduced into Ireland, and courts of justice established there upon

V. M. Paris,
ad ann. 1172

V. Rol. Patent. 2. Rich.
III. c. 8. and
Harris's History,
p. 122,
123.

Hibern.
from p. 115
to 122.
Serjeant
Mayart's
answer to
Sir R. Bol-
ton.

upon the English model, and sheriffs and other officers of law and police appointed by this king. But whether M. Paris was correct in his account of the place where the English laws were received and sworn to by the Irish, I think somewhat doubtful; as it seems probable that this act, which was to bind the whole nation, was done at Dublin, in the solemnity of the christmas festival, when Henry was attended by the princes and nobility of the kingdom, who had there paid him their homage; rather than at Lismore, where he made no long abode, and from whence he was gone (as appears by the accounts of contemporary historians) before homage had been done to him by any Irish prince, except Dermot Mac Carthy. However this may have been, the communicating to Ireland the laws and customs of England, was unquestionably a great boon to the people of that country, and a most wise act of policy in the king who did it; but to render it effectual, more time was required, and a more absolute power over the whole Irish nation than he yet had established. In fact, we find, that the disturbances which afterwards ensued, so hindered and frustrated the operation of this act, that King John thought it necessary to re-enact it: for it appears by a statute of King Henry the Third, that *his father had brought over into Ireland men skill'd in the laws, by whose concurrent advice, and at the request of the Irish, he ordained and commanded the laws of England to be observed in Ireland, and left the said laws reduced into writing, under his seal, in the exchequer at Dublin.* King John therefore completed, as far as in him lay, what Henry the Second had begun; but the full execution of this purpose of both these princes was obstructed by the troubles that arose in their kingdoms, and by the revolts of the Irish against them, and their successors in the throne of England.

V. Rol. Patent
21 Hen. III.
Membr.
3 Coke's 7th
Rep. f. 22. in
Calvin's
case, Mr. St.
John's ar-
gum. in
Lord Stra-
ford's
attainder.

Giraldus

Giraldus Cambrensis takes notice, that the archbishop of Armagh was prevented by age and infirmity from attending at Cashel; but says, he afterwards waited on the king at Dublin, and shewed great obsequiousness to him in all his desires. Perhaps the secret reason of his non-attendance at Cashel was an unwillingness to yield the precedence in that council to the bishop of Lismore, as the pope's legate; which commission he might think ought not to have been separated from the primacy of Ireland, if exercised at all in that kingdom. And indeed, as it had been formerly granted to Malachy, it seems strange that it was not continued to this prelate! He was now very aged, and esteemed a saint by the people, who saw with admiration, that, wheresoever he went, a white cow was led after him, and that her milk was all his food!

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 34.

Soon after the feast of the purification of the Blessed Virgin, Henry departed from Dublin, and went to Wexford, in which town he remained until he returned into England. During the whole winter season and a part of the spring, for five successive months, the weather had been so extremely and constantly tempestuous, that all navigation had been stopt, and all correspondence cut off, between Ireland and the other dominions of the king, who very impatiently bore this long delay of the information he wanted on many points of importance. But about the middle of Lent, he received advice, that the Cardinals Albert and Theodine, legates *a latere*, whom Pope Alexander the Third had sent into Normandy, on the affair of Becket's death, had been there some months waiting for him, and began to threaten now, that, if he did not speedily come to them, they would lay all his dominions under an interdict. He much desired to make a longer stay in Ireland, that he might complete his acquisition of

V. G. Cam-
brenf.
Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 35.
Benedict.
Abbas.
Hoveden.
Bromton,
sub. ann.
1172.

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 36.

Epist. S. T.
88. l. 5.

it,

Ibid. c. 37.
Benedict,
Abb. and
Hoveden ad
anno. 1172.

See the
charter in
the Appen-
dix to this
book, from
Ware's An-
tiquit. Hi-
bern. c. 27.

it, by subduing all Ulster, and doing many other things, which yet remained to be done, for the better settling of his authority, and ordering of the government, in the provinces subject to him: but he saw the necessity of going into Normandy, to conclude with the legates, and hoped he should be able to return into Ireland, when that pressing affair was dispatched. Before his departure, he took the properest measures that the exigency of the time would admit of, for the support and security of the dominion he had gained. He left the earl of Pembroke possessor of Leinster, as a fief of the English crown, under homage to himself, which that lord had performed when they were together in Dublin: but, to balance the greatness of so powerful a vassal, he appointed Hugh de Lacy justiciary of Ireland; which office was the same, in the absence of the king, as lord lieutenant or viceroy; and he likewise gave him the government of the royal city of Dublin, with orders to build a castle there, leaving under his command Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald, with forty other knights. It has been mentioned before, that O Ruark had obtained from Roderick O Conor the temporary administration of East Meath, that monarch retaining the western parts of the province in his own hands. But Henry now was induced to grant the whole, as it had been enjoyed by Murchad O Melachlin, (called in the charter Hu Melachlin) or by any other before or after that king, with all its appurtenances, to his minister Hugh de Lacy, who was to hold it immediately of him and his heirs, by the service of fifty knights. The charter is dated at Wexford, and the reader will find it in the appendix to this book. Such a gift was apparently prejudicial and offensive to O Ruark and O Conor; nor do we find on what ground, or on what pretence of justice, it was made by king Henry. Indeed the claim

claim of those princes to the possession of any part of Meath was mere usurpation; and, therefore, the granting it intire to this baron, in fee, was not an act so injurious, or so likely to excite the resentment of the Irish, as if a prince of the royal house of Meath, had been thus dispossessed of his right. Yet, still, the transferring an ancient kingdom of Ireland from the present Irish possessors, and from every branch of that race which could legally claim the inheritance of it, to an English lord and his heirs, was a measure which the nation would not easily approve, or even forgive. One should think that some agreement, with relation to this province, between Henry and Roderick, must have preceded this grant; so as that the former might plead the consent of the latter for taking from O Ruark the administration thereof, and conferring it upon Lacy. As for Donald O Melachlin, he had forfeited all his right by the murder of his predecessor; and it is probable that the other collateral claimants, wanting power to support, thought it advisable to give up, or to wave, their pretensions. But this as it may, the subjection of all Meath, and of Leinster, to two English barons, who held in chief of the king, gave great strength to the power of the English crown in Ireland; though, perhaps, it may be doubtful, whether it would not have been a more politic measure to have divided the former into several baronies, rather than to have given it intire to one vassal, who had also the government of the capital city, and the high office of grand justiciary of the realm. But the greatness of earl Strongbow was the principal object of Henry's jealousy in that island, and he desired to check it by raising up against him a powerful rival there. He also com-
Hibern. Ex. pugnat. l. i. c. 37.
mitted the city of Waterford to Humphry de Bohun, and Wexford to William Fitzaldelm: the first of these having under him Robert Fitzbernard
and

Benedict.
Abb. and
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1172.
Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. i.
c. 35.

and Hugh de Gundeville; the latter, Philip de Hastings and Philip de Breuse; with garrisons in each place of forty knights. For the greater security of these towns and his own domination therein, the king ordered castles to be built in both with all possible expedition, and took into his own service Milo de Cogan and Raymond, with other principal officers of the earl of Pembroke's late army.

He seems to have placed some confidence in the Ostmen, as well-affected to him; and probably they were so, on account of their commerce with his subjects in England: yet it may be presumed he would have left stronger garrisons in all the towns they possessed, if it had been in his power: but distempers, which the food and climate of Ireland produced in his soldiers, who were unaccustomed to them, constrained him to carry the greater part of his army back with him into England, for the recovery of their health, and to stop the further progress of the epidemical fluxes which began to rage among them. Nevertheless, he intended to return in a short time, with equal or greater forces: but such accidents intervened as unhappily prevented his executing this purpose. As his present affairs would admit of no delay, he ordered his troops to Waterford, where his fleet was then lying; and on Easter Monday, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, sailing from Wexford, with only two ships in his train, arrived the same day at Portfinnan, in South Wales; his troops having landed, the day before, at Pembroke.

Welsh
Chron..
Camden's
Brit.

It has been mentioned, that, in going through Wales into Ireland, Henry had taken the custody of Caerleon upon Uike from Jorwerth, a Welsh lord, whose fidelity he suspected. This seemed necessary, as a fort had been lately erected out of the ruins of that most ancient city, where great
monu-

monuments still remained of the Roman magnificence, even in the times of which I write. But Jorwerth thought himself injured, and, when the king was departed, sent Howel and Owen his sons, with others of his kindred, and all the force they could raise, to recover possession, both of the town and of the fort. They succeeded in part of this attempt; but not being able to take the fort, they set fire to the town, which they had taken, and left it. As Henry passed near that district in returning from Ireland, he desired to see Jorwerth at a certain place on the borders, and sent him a safe conduct for himself and his sons, with a purpose of making an amicable end of this quarrel; that no commotions arising from thence in Wales might disturb the realm in his absence. Jorwerth ordered his son Owen, who happened to be then in another part of the country, to join him on the road; but the young man, in obedience to this command, passing by the earl of Gloucester's new castle upon Uske, the garrison of that place, on a sudden, fell upon him and slew him. It is probable that they knew not of his having a safe conduct; but his father, upon hearing of his being killed, turned back, and gathering together all the Welsh whom he or his friends could engage in their family quarrel, took revenge, by incursions into those parts of Monmouthshire which were possessed by the English, and the bordering countries of England. Henry, informed of these events, made Rhcees ap Gryffyth chief justice over all South Wales, as the best means in his power to quiet things there, through the authority of this prince, the natural lord of that country, and head of the family thus aggrieved; while he himself, being called by more important affairs, went to Portsmouth, and from thence, taking with him the young king, his eldest son, passed over the channel.

V. Hoveden,
f. 303. ad
ann. 1172.

We have a letter from the cardinal legates to the archbishop of Ravenna, in which they tell him, "that Henry, as soon as he knew of their arrival in his territories, removing all impediments which might cause delay, and laying aside all the business incumbent upon him, had hastened from Ireland, through England into Normandy, and, immediately after his landing in that dutchy, had sent to them many and honourable messengers, to desire them to name a place of conference with him, and that, accordingly, they had appointed a convent at Savigni. That he met them there, attended by many of his nobility, both spiritual and temporal. That some disagreement arising, he departed from the conference, with a seeming purpose of instantly returning to England, and they intended to have gone, the following day, to Avranches: but, in the morning, there came to them the bishop of Lisieux and two archdeacons, who granted, in his name, all that they had insisted on, and he confirmed it at Avranches, upon the Sunday before Ascension-day." It is not easy to deny the truth of this evidence; yet, among the epistles of John of Salisbury, there is one from the king to the bishop of Exeter, which says, "that, at first, he found the legates too severe, and seemingly inflexible; but that afterwards, against the expectations of all men, a reconciliation followed, to the honour of God and the church, and to his honour and that of his kingdom." However this may have been, on what conditions the reconciliation was concluded at Avranches we certainly know, by a charter, or instrument, drawn up in the form of a letter to the king, by both the legates, to be preserved as an evidence and record thereof. They were as follows:

V. Epistolæ
Joan. Sateb.
epist. 290.

V. Epistol.
S. Thom. I.
v. epist. 89.
Hoveden,
sub ann.
1172. f. 303.
See also Appendix.

1. That

1. That, in the course of the next twelve month from the approaching feast of Pentecost, the king should give so much money as the knights templars should deem sufficient to maintain two hundred knights, for the defence of the Holy Land during the term of one year. But that, from the next Christmas-day, he should take the cross himself for the term of three years, and the following summer go in person to the Holy Land, unless the obligation were dispensed with by Pope Alexander himself, or his catholick successors. Nevertheless, if, from the pressing necessity of the Christians in Spain, he should go thither to make war against the Saracens, he might in that case defer his journey to Jerusalem, for so much time as he should spend in such an expedition.

2. That he neither should hinder, himself, nor suffer others to hinder, appeals from being made freely, *with good faith, and without fraud or evil intention*, in ecclesiastical causes to the Roman pontiff; so that they may be tried and determined according to his judgment. *Yet with a proviso, that, if any appellants were suspected by the king, they should give him security, that they would not attempt any thing to the prejudice of him or his kingdom.*

3. That he should absolutely give up those constitutions or customs, which had been introduced *in his time* against the church of his kingdom.

4. That, if any lands had been taken from the see of Canterbury, he should fully restore them, as they were held by that see a year before Archbishop Becket went out of England.

5. That to all the clergy, and laity of either sex, who had been deprived of their possessions on the account of that prelate, he should likewise restore those possessions, with his peace and favour.

All these injunctions the legates, by the authority of the pope, commanded the king to observe with truth and sincerity, for the remission of his sins; *because* (as they set forth in the preamble to the articles) *though he had taken in their presence a voluntary oath, that he neither ordered nor desired the murder of Becket, and was exceedingly grieved when the report thereof was brought to his ears, yet he feared that the malefactors who had slain that prelate took occasion to commit that wicked act from the passion and perturbation they saw in him.* Accordingly, he now (by way of penance for that fault) publicly swore to perform the articles above-mentioned, relating to the holy war, and (in order to obtain a reconciliation with the church) all the others agreed to between him and the legates; the young king, his son, whom he had called out of England into Normandy for this purpose, joining with him, as a further security to the church, in the latter part of this oath.

Such were the conditions of Henry's absolution; and better conditions they appear to have been (all circumstances considered) than he had reason to expect: for the most inconvenient and troublesome injunction, that of taking the cross, he might hope to get rid of, by a papal dispensation, grounded on excuses which time and various incidents might afford. And to the church he gave up nothing, by the terms of this agreement, which he had not before proposed to yield: for, in the contest with Becket, he had frequently offered to annul any laws which should not be found to have been part of the constitution of England in his grandfather's reign. Wherefore, in writing an account of this business to the bishop of Exeter, when he mentions the article by which he consented to *abolish all the customs introduced in his time against the church of his kingdom*, he adds, *which I reckon to be few or none.*

The

The only particular, wherein he might seem to recede from the Clarendon statutes, was with regard to the restraint which one of them had laid on appeals to the see of Rome: but even here, by the right he reserved to himself of demanding security from any *suspected* appellants, he kept in his hands a strong curb, which he might use, at his pleasure, over the liberty granted. Upon the whole, he justly boasted to the bishop of Exeter, that he had concluded this agreement *to his own honour*. Indeed the season for proceeding against him with severity, or imposing hard terms of absolution, was past. This he felt; and it seems, that, as circumstances then stood, the pope was little less afraid of his enmity than he of the pope's: for the legates speak with great pleasure, in their narrative before cited, of his having sworn, with his son, at the close of this business, to adhere to Alexander *so long as he should treat them like Christian and Catholick Kings*; which condition implied, that if, on any pretence, he should pass any sentence of excommunication against either of them, they would abandon his party.

The legates add, in their letter, that King Henry (the father) promised some other things, *which of his own free accord he was to do, but which it was not proper to set down in writing*.

What these were is unknown. They might be voluntary penances which he secretly offered to inflict on himself, or private bounties to the pope, or to those who supported the interests of that pontiff in Italy or in France: but, certainly, he did not, *of his own free accord*, promise greater concessions, in any points that related to his disputes with the church, than the legates had now asked.

As for the oath which he took to clear his reputation of any intentional guilt in the murder of Becket,

Becket, he chose to take it, not only that he might the more easily obtain absolution, but for the sake of declaring his innocence to the world in the most solemn manner: And that he did not swear falsely, we have grounds to believe, from the endeavours he used to stop the four knights on the first notice he had of their departure; from his sending other persons, with orders, not to kill; but to arrest the archbishop; and from his natural temper, which, being apt to take fire upon any provocation, vented its fury in violent expressions of anger, such as his reason, when he had time to cool, did not suffer him to carry into action. Of this there is one most remarkable instance, which I find in a letter, written by John of Salisbury during the year eleven hundred and sixty-six. Information is there given to the bishop of Exeter, that, in the council assembled at Chinon in Touraine, on occasion of Becket's declared resolution to excommunicate Henry, the offended monarch broke out, before the whole assembly, into passionate complaints against that prelate, even to the shedding of tears; and concluded, by saying, *that they were all traitors, who did not diligently endeavour to deliver and free him from the hostile attacks of this one man*: for which expression he was then reproved with some warmth by the archbishop of Rouen.

Now these words, which his passion drew so openly from him, and which remained without effect, were of much the same purport and force as those, which afterwards caused the assassination of Becket: but when princes intend to order murders, they take more private methods, and carefully hide the design, except from those to whose hands the execution is intrusted, or who gave the advice. It seems therefore but justice to impute to Henry no guilt in what was done against Becket beyond that intemperance in expressing his anger

V. Epist.
Joh. Sarisb.
159.

anger which he owned and lamented. But how then shall we account for his suffering the assassins to remain unpunished? Some modern writers suppose that this forbearance was owing to his fear of infringing the privileges of the church, which, though incapable of inflicting any corporal penalties, claimed to itself the sole power of punishing its own members. And this indeed was the reason, why the pope did not make the putting to death the four knights, and all their accomplices, the first condition of giving absolution to Henry. But any right in the church to such an exclusive jurisdiction, had never yet been acknowledged by that monarch himself, who, on the contrary, had maintained, with insuperable firmness, his own inherent prerogative to punish all offences committed in his realm; but more especially murders. The departing from that principle, in this particular instance, might naturally produce untoward suspicions: whereas, certainly, his exerting the justice of the crown upon such an occasion would not have been deemed, by the clergy or the pope, an irremissible sin. The truth of this matter appears to be very well stated by William of Newbury, who lived and wrote in those times. He says, “*that Henry was the more inconsolably afflicted, because he was sensible that, whether he spared those homicides, or did not spare them, the minds of men would be inclined to think ill of him. For, if he granted impunity to such heinous criminals, it would be imagined he had given encouragement and authority to the crime: but, if he punished that in them, which it was supposed they had not undertaken without orders from him, he would be spoken of as guilty of a double wickedness. Wherefore he thought it best to spare them, and out of regard to his own fame, as well as their safety, delivered them over to the apostolical*”

Newbrigen-
sis Rerum
Anglorum,
l. ii. c. 21.

“tolical see, that they might undergo a solemn penance.”

V. Cart.
2. Johan.
Memb. 9.

V. Histor.
Quadripart.

Gervase, ad
ann. 1174.

The same writer adds, “that, being stung with remorse, they willingly went to Rome, and were sent by the pope from thence to Jerusalem, where, after they had, for some years, performed, not remissly, the penance enjoined them, they all ended their lives.” But in this account of their death he certainly was mistaken : for it appears by records, that Hugh de Morville was alive in the second year of King John ; though their having all perished within less than three years after their crime was committed, is mentioned as an extraordinary judgment of God, and a divine attestation of the sanctity of Becket, by some of the writers of his life.

A little before the absolution of Henry, his eldest son and Margaret, his daughter-in-law, had gone over into England, and were crowned together at Winchester, by the archbishop of Rouen, assisted by the bishops of Evreux and Worcester. The employing in this ministry a foreign primate was a new and extraordinary act. During the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, it naturally belonged to the archbishop of York, or the bishop of London : but the king of France insisting, that neither those prelates, nor the bishop of Salisbury, should have any part in it, on account of the enmity which he knew had subsisted between them and Becket, this expedient was advised, or approved of, by the legates. A better would have been to have filled the see of Canterbury before this coronation : but Henry, with good reason, deferred the election of a successor to Becket, until he should be absolved by the papal authority, for fear that, while he was negotiating with Rome, new disturbances might arise from another primate, in England, attached to the person and principles of the former : and Louis, who had thought the
not

not crowning his daughter together with her husband, in the year eleven hundred and seventy, an affront and indignity, for which he ought to demand the most speedy reparation, would endure no delay. There does not appear to have been any real necessity for repeating the coronation of the young king; but the doubts raised by Becket, whether, during his life-time, the performing of that ceremony by any other bishop did not make it null and void, may have caused this repetition, which was not disagreeable to the usage of that age. As soon as it was over, this prince returned to Caen, where he was present at his father's absolution by the legates; and then, no urgent business requiring his longer stay abroad, he went back into England, about the end of September in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two.

Not long afterwards, measures were taken in that kingdom for the electing a new archbishop of Canterbury. The prior and monks of the convent of Christchurch in Canterbury demanded *a free election*, by which they meant to exclude the bishops of the province from any share with them in it, and the king from recommending. As this could not be granted, the young Henry and his ministers, when they had laboured in vain to overcome their obstinacy, sent Odo, the prior, with some of his monks into Normandy, to King Henry the father, who did his utmost to gain the votes of the convent, through the prior's mediation, for the bishop of Bayeux, a man of a gentle and tractable disposition: but Odo was desirous that another Becket should be chosen; and though Henry, for the sake of an object so important to the quiet of his realm, stooped even to supplications which did not well become the majesty of the crown, it was all to no purpose. The condescension of the king served only to encrease the haughtiness of the monk, who returned to England

Gervase, ad
ann. 1172.

gland, resolved to persevere in opposing the election of the prelate recommended by that prince. Nothing therefore was done for several months in this business.

But in all other points, the affairs of Henry now wore a most flattering aspect. His reconciliation with Rome, his near alliance with Louis, his subsidiary treaties with the earls of Boulogne and of Flanders, his confederacy with the emperor and with the very potent duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who had married his daughter, seemed to promise him a secure and lasting tranquility in all his foreign dominions. The commotions in Wales were appeased. The king of Scotland, unaided by the arms of France, could not hope to succeed in a war against England, which kingdom, in all appearance, was more free from any causes of internal disorders, than it had been since the first coming in of the Normans. The administration of government was mild and just; the title to the crown undisputed. Nothing had happened to lessen the honour and dignity of the English name in any part of the world. The English empire was increased, without any loss of blood, and with little expence of treasure, by the acquisition of Ireland, the most beneficial to England that could be made. But while Henry was thinking how to perfect this achievement, which he had not wholly finished, and extending his cares to many other great objects for the good of his family, or the happiness of his people, with equal affection to both, his peace was disturbed by an unsuspected, unnatural, and impious conspiracy, of his family itself, with many peers of his realm, and foreign powers, against him; a conspiracy, which burst forth at once, like the sudden eruption of a volcano, and shook all his dominions to the very foundations.

The

The first contriver of this treason was Eleanor, his queen, incited to it by rage at finding herself neglected, and other women preferred to her, by a husband she had loved. William of Newbury L. iii. c. 25. says, that, when she ceased to breed children, the king forsook her bed. Love and pride had been always her predominant passions, and both were offended by this infidelity, which having changed her too violent and ill-requited fondness into a rancorous hatred, she sought revenge by the most nefarious means. For, while her husband was in Ireland, she infused into the mind of their eldest son, Henry, by the help of Radulph de Faie, her uncle, and Hugh de Saintemaure, who had worked themselves into the favour of that prince, suggestions of the incongruity of his being a king, and not exercising the power which belonged to that office without controul. His own temper inclining him to entertain such ideas, he was easily brought to think, that his father, by having placed the crown on his head, had taken it off from his own. When Eleanor found that this notion, frequently inculcated and confirmed by her agents about him, as well as by herself, had prepared him to rebel whenever she could see a fit opportunity and sufficient strength to support him, she proceeded to combine many persons of great power in a confederacy with him; but by what methods, or at what particular times, we are not well informed. It only appears, that, in the course of the year eleven hundred and seventy two, Adam de Port, being arraigned of traiterously conspiring the death of the king, fled out of the realm before a trial, and was outlawed: but we do not find that the king had any information of the extent of the plot; no other person being charged, nor any of those measures taken, which must naturally have resulted from the least intelligence given of the nature of those intrigues, with which there

Diceto
Imag. Hist.
ad ann. 1172.

Benedict.
Abbas, p. 38.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1172.

is

is too much cause to believe this execrable design was connected. The king of France is, by some contemporary historians, said to have been one of the first who advised and promoted the forming of a league, in which were engaged the two earls of Flanders and Boulogne, for the dethroning of Henry, and giving the young king, his eldest son, the sole government of the kingdom. It seems they depended on Henry's being detained a longer time in Ireland. For, when Louis heard of his arrival at Barfleur, he exclaimed, *that this prince, now in Ireland, now in England, and now in Normandy, must be rather supposed to fly, than ride, or sail!* Words which lead one to think, that he, by whom they were spoken, was not only surprised, but disappointed and vexed, at the great haste made by Henry, which disconcerted the schemes his enemies had contrived to annoy him in his absence.

Diceto
Imag. Hist.
ad ann.
1172.

Benedict.
Abb. and
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1172.

V. Authores
citatos ut
supra.

About the feast of All-Saints in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, the young king and his queen were ordered by his father to come over into Normandy, which command (it is said) he very unwillingly obeyed. If this reluctance was not feigned, it may either have arisen from his wishing to begin the rebellion in England without any longer delay, or from apprehensions that his father, having discovered his treason, might intend to arrest him: but so little did Henry suspect the machinations between Louis and him, that the principal cause of sending for him and his consort was that monarch's desire to see them at Paris. They went thither, and, after a short stay with him there, during which the whole plan of the rebellion was settled, they returned into Normandy; which some authors suppose they were constrained to do by a peremptory order from Henry, because he feared (as they say) the fraud and malice of Louis: but more probably their

their departure was owing to other reasons, and such as satisfied Louis that they might go back without danger: for otherwise he would not have permitted them to leave him. Nor did Henry put his son under any restraint when he had him again in his power, but left him behind in Normandy with his wife, and went himself to keep his Christmas in Anjou. Before they separated, that prince, pursuant to a counsel given to him by Louis, demanded of his father to be put in present possession of Normandy, Anjou, or England: which being refused, he said nothing, but determined to execute his treasonable designs, of which this demand was a prelude; being certainly rather made, that he might plead the denial to justify his revolt, than with any hope to obtain it.

After Christmas, Henry sent for his son to come to him at Chinon in Anjou; from whence they went together, in company with queen Eleanor, into Auvergne, where he had appointed a meeting with the earl of Savoy and Morienne, in order to conclude a treaty of marriage between his youngest son John, who had hardly yet completed the seventh year of his age, and the earl's eldest daughter. As it never took effect, it will be enough to say here, that, in case of the earl's death without a son by the lady to whom he was married, it would have given to John all that prince's dominions, and a large share of them even if he should have a son, which contingency was thought very unlikely to happen. It proceeded so far, that the princess was delivered to King Henry the Father, to be kept in his custody, and under his tuition, until a consummation of the marriage at a proper age of the parties. But, in a subsequent conference with the earl, at Limoges, Henry, mentioning the three castles of Mirebeau, Chinon, and Loudun, (which, after the death of his

Diceto
Imag. Hist.
col. 561.
Gervase.
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1173.

his brother, Prince Geoffry Plantagenet, had all been repaired) as an inheritance he intended to leave to John by his last will, the young king, who was present, pertinaciously refused to give his consent to this bequest, though the benefits likely to accrue to his family from such an alliance would have justified a much greater. Hereupon, and in consequence of some intelligence given by the earl of Toulouse, who had now made a firm agreement with Henry, on terms I shall mention more particularly hereafter, that monarch removed from the family of his son a young lord, named Asculfe de St. Hilaire, and others of his household, whose evil counsels he thought had instigated their master to this undutiful conduct, and placed about him new servants, on whose loyalty and approved affection to himself he more confidently relied. But the root of the mischief lay deeper, and the extent of it reached further, than he yet knew, or suspected. For, soon afterwards, while he and his son were returning from Limoges into Normandy, that prince left him at Chinon, and with all the speed he could make rode before him to Alençon; from whence, as if his intention had been to go Caen, he proceeded to Argenton, and, taking there a short rest, went out of that town about day break, and hastened to Chartres, where the French court then resided. His father, who had followed him as far as Alençon, lay there the same night on which he lay at Argenton: but being informed the next day of the road he had taken, instead of continuing his journey to Caen or Rouen, he visited all his castles on the frontier of France, and caused them to be speedily repaired and provided with whatsoever was necessary for their defence, but more especially Gisors, which he strengthened and supplied to the utmost of his power. He then viewed all his castles in the duchy of Normandy with the same prudent

Chron. Vasc.
con.
Robert de
Monte.
Pere Daniel,
Louis VII.

Benedict.
Abb. p. 47.
Pet. Blesens.
Epist.

prudent care, and sent letters to the governors of his several fortresses, in Aquitaine, in Anjou, in Bretagne, and in England, commanding them to fortify and guard well the places committed to their keeping. For he now apprehended the extent of that danger, to which hitherto he had been unaccountably blind. Soon after the event which impelled him to take these necessary precautions, Richard Barre, whom, in recompence for many faithful services, he had, not long before, made chancellor to his son, delivered up the great seal: nor was less integrity found in the officers he had placed in the household of his son, who all returned to him, and brought with them the whole baggage belonging to their master. But he sent them back to that prince with his arms and accoutrements, and with silver plate for his use, and horses and garments. Whether he did this in hopes that so generous a proceeding might touch his heart, or with an intention to keep these men about him as spies, or for both these reasons conjointly, may be matter of doubt: but they were not permitted to continue in his service, unless they would take an oath of fealty to him, without any reserve of that higher allegiance they owed to his father; which all of them did, except three, whom he therefore dismissed. Many noblemen of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Bretagne, had fled with him to Chartres, and many more followed soon; his flight having been evidently the effect of a settled and preconcerted scheme. But the difficulty he found to escape from his father obliged him to leave his queen behind; which surely he did not mean to do, when first he formed that design; and this circumstance must have been a great mortification, both to him and to Louisa. While he was in Auvergne, and at Limoges, he had frequent opportunities of seeing his mother; and there she, doubtless, not only

Benedict.
Abb. sub.
1173.

V. P. Ble-
senf. Epist.
154. See
also Appen-
dix.

Ibid. Ep.
153. See
also Appen-
dix.

ly fomented and confirmed his bad dispositions against the king his father, but agreed with him to take an open part herself, and also engage his two brothers, Richard and Geoffry, who were with her at this time (the eldest of them being then about sixteen years old, and the other about fifteen) to join in his revolt. This resolution was soon discovered to Henry after the young king's departure: for, among the epistles of his secretary Peter of Blois, there is one which appears to have been written to her, about this time, from the archbishop of Rouen, at her husband's desire, reprimanding her for having wilfully separated herself from him, and encouraged her children to rebel against him; exhorting her to return, together with her sons, and assuring her, if she did, that she and they should be kindly and affectionately treated; but threatening, if she did not, that he, as her diocesan, would proceed against her with ecclesiastical censures. This prelate was now joined with the bishop of Lisieux in an embassy to Louis on this arduous business, the success of which is related in a letter to Henry from those ministers themselves, which, together with that before mentioned, the reader may see in the Appendix to this book. The ambassadors tell the king, " that they could draw from Louis
" no answer to the salutation delivered by them
" in his name, though they had taken great care
" to make it as agreeable and soothing as they
" could: but that, when they opened to that
" prince the particulars of the business upon
" which they were sent, repeatedly inculcating
" the benefits of peace, and the mischiefs of dis-
" sention, he heard them patiently to the end,
" without any interruption, and, after some pause,
" began contumeliously to reproach the king,
" their master, with many artifices and frauds,
" by which, he complained, he had often been
" cir-

“ circumvented. He said, that Henry had frequently, on very slight pretences, violated the faith which they had mutually plighted the one to the other, and shewn himself so unsteady, that for the future he would put no confidence in him. He added, that, before the young king came to Chartres, he had taken himself a determinate resolution to make war against Henry; and, in declaring the causes which induced him to adhere to this intent, he mentioned Henry’s detaining the young queen from her husband; his not returning her portion; his having instigated the subjects of the crown of France, from the mountains of Auvergne as far as the Rhone, to become enemies to their sovereign, and having also, in prejudice to the rights of that crown, admitted the earl of Toulouse to do him *liege homage*. Finally, he swore that he would never again conclude with Henry, either treaty, or agreement, without the consent of the sons and wife of that prince.”

On these complaints, it will be necessary to make some observations. With regard to the detaining of the young queen from her husband, it was a consequence of the flight and rebellion of her husband, which he and his father-in-law might well expect: nor could Henry consent, while this rebellion continued, to put out of his power so valuable a pledge, which might be a means of obtaining the peace he wished. As for the restitution of her portion, namely, Gisors and the Vexin, the demand of it appears entirely groundless: and this province, with the castle, being a necessary barrier to the dutchy of Normandy on that side, the giving it up, at this time, to the young queen or her husband, would have been opening that country to enemies and invaders. Of the rebellion, which Henry was accused of exciting, I find no intimation in the history of

those times; nor was he ever in circumstances, after his return out of Ireland, which could incline him to kindle a war in France. But, if the cession he had made of the dutchy of Aquitaine to his second son, Richard, by the treaty of Montmirail, was really so compleat, as the account of that treaty in John of Salisbury's letters affirms it to have been, it is hard to say on what ground his receiving of *liege homage* from the earl of Toulouse was supported. Yet there is reason to believe, that if Henry, in this act, had been guilty of a culpable irregularity, he would have been brought to correct it, by amicable methods, without a war. And most certainly neither this, nor any former offence he had given to Louis, was sufficient to justify that prince in abetting such an atrocious rebellion of his wife and sons against him, a rebellion which violated the first laws of society and the highest duties of nature.

v. Epist. Pet.
Blesens. 153.

The two prelates concluded the account of their embassy with exhorting their master, "to be very careful in guarding his several fortresses, and more especially *his own life*: for all France had unanimously conspired his destruction, and did not think it enough to lay waste all his territories with fire and sword, but *plotted execrable wickedness against his person*."

Benedict.
Abb. and
Brompton,
ad ann. 1173.

Gervase,
Chron. col.
1424, ad
ann. 1173.

Before this letter came to him, or about the same time, Richard and Geoffry were sent by their mother to Paris; and soon afterwards, thinking herself not in safety, she attempted, disguised in the habit of a man, to follow them thither, but was arrested and kept in close confinement. By whom, or where she was seized, and whether, under this sudden and terrible change of her fortune, her violent spirit retained all its natural fierceness; or whether, finding herself in the power of her husband, she sought to merit his pardon by any confessions or discoveries to him, are

are circumstances not mentioned in the history of those times. Probably none but the king's most trusted friends were let into the secrets of this dark transaction, but it is strange, that more particulars concerning her arrest, which could hardly be concealed from the knowledge of the publick, have not been transmitted to us by some of the many contemporary writers!

This Fury being chained, Henry found it less difficult to contend with his other enemies: yet their number was so great, and some of them were so powerful, that a heart, not endued with a most extraordinary firmness, would have fainted and sunk into despair. The Easter festival coming on, Louis summoned a great council to meet him at Paris; and, in the face of his whole realm assembled there, took an oath, that he would assist, to the utmost of his power, the young Henry and his brothers against their father, and endeavour, by force of arms, to put him in possession of the kingdom of England. He likewise caused all the nobles, who were present in that assembly, to take a similar oath, having first received one from the young king and his brothers, that they would not depart from him, nor make peace with their father, unless he and the barons of his realm should consent to it, and concur therein.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.
Brompton,
ad ann. 1173.

This confederacy being thus declared and cemented, the young king received homage from the earl of Flanders and his brother, the earl of Boulogne, which he madly purchased by making a grant to the former of the whole county of Kent with the castles of Dover and Rochester, besides a clear annuity of a thousand pounds sterling from other lands in England; and to the latter, of the soke of Kirketon in Lindsey, and the province of Mortagne in Normandy. Homage was also done to him by the earl of Blois, in return for a grant of the castle of Amboise with all his rights in Tou-

V. Autores
citas ut su-
pra.

raine, and for an extinction of the claim which he and his father had made to Chateau Renard, over and above an annuity of five hundred pounds in Angevin money. These donations, and others, to many nobles of France, which the contemporary authors say they have omitted to mention on account of their number, were sealed with a great seal, representing that of England, and made in France, by an order of the French king, for this purpose. Similar bribes were employed to engage in the party of the young king of England many lords of that realm. Particular notice is taken of a grant to Hugh Bigot, and to his heirs for ever, of the honour of Eye and the royal castle of Norwich. About the same time, the earldom of Northumberland, as far as the Tyne, was also granted by this prince to William the Lion, king of Scotland, and to his brother David, that of Huntingdon, with Cambridgeshire annexed to it, as an augmentation of the gift conferred upon him before by King Henry the father. One is hardly more shocked at the impiety of the son in entering into this league, than at his folly in thus yielding the keys of his realm to the king of Scotland and to the earl of Flanders: especially as the latter, in conjunction with his brother, the earl of Boulogne, was very potent at sea, and but six years before, without any just cause of war, had, together with that prince, notoriously designed an invasion of England. The only excuse for this act, and for the profuse alienations of the royal demesne by the other grants above-mentioned, is the youth of the donor, on the simplicity of which, and the passions attending it, those artfully worked, to draw him into these mischiefs, who ought to have been most careful and vigilant to save him from them. But what alleviates his guilt much aggravates theirs, and particularly his mother's.

Soon

Soon after the Easter-holy-days, hostilities were begun, on the part of the rebels, by great devastations of Henry's demesnes in France, to which, in many of the provinces subject to him there, but a faint resistance was made on the part of his friends; the apprehension of his ruin, and of their being exposed to the vengeance of his sons for their adherence to him, so intimidating many, as to render them backward and unactive in his cause. Every hour now brought him a more alarming account of some new defection from him; and he experienced the truth of what he had been warned of, by the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Lisieux, in the letter before cited, "that several, even of those who were fed at his table with him, only waited for an opportunity of rebelling against him, and that the knowledge of his having so many intestine enemies was the chief encouragement to the others, who were not his subjects, to make this war upon him." Under these circumstances, necessity constrained him to a measure which he otherwise would have shunned. The same species of mercenaries that King Stephen had employed, and he himself, about twenty years before, had expelled out of England, was still subsisting in France, in Germany, and in Brabant, under different chiefs, who kept them always well trained. In this extremity therefore, deserted and betrayed, with the basest disloyalty, by many of his subjects, and doubtful of all, fearing even for his life, if he had not a guard, to which he might trust it more safely, than he could to the knights of his own household itself, he had recourse to these men, as the only help he could find which was ready to answer the exigence of the danger. From his known liberality to soldiers of merit, they were well inclined to his service: the bargain was soon concluded; and twenty thousand of them were taken

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden,
Gervase,
Brompton,
sub ann.
1172.

V. Epist. Pet.
Blesensis.
153.

Neubrigensis,
l. ii. c. 27.
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.
Gervase,
Brompton,
sub ann.
1173.

V. Autore
citatos ut
supra.

taken into his pay, before any great army was brought into the field by the confederate princes. Some of these he disposed of in securing those castles and other fortified places, where the fidelity of the garrisons or inhabitants was most doubtful, and kept the rest about him, to oppose them to his enemies, wheresoever they should attack him. Thus did the money he had prudently laid up in his treasury, when it seemed to all the world he had nothing to fear, procure him safety in the hour of his greatest distress: for many of his vassals, who before were wavering and uncertain, seeing him strengthened by so great and so formidable a body of veteran troops, adhered to him with more courage; and some, who had intended to go over to the rebels, were deterred from the execution of that design: so that he soon was enabled to join other forces to these mercenary bands, and such as he could employ with less reluctance. Nor yet did he neglect to endeavour to support the justice of his cause by the aid of spiritual weapons. Children in arms against their father and their sovereign, to tear his crown from his head before his death, out of impatience to rule, when the eldest of them had scarce attained to manhood, were, together with all the advisers and accomplices of their revolt, the fittest objects of ecclesiastical censures, that Rome could possibly find in the whole extent of those countries, over which she had stretched her spiritual jurisdiction. Henry therefore applied, with peculiar earnestness, to that see, for a general sentence of excommunication against his three rebellious sons, and all their adherents. In writing to Alexander on this important subject, he made use of the pen of his learned secretary, the celebrated Peter of Blois, whose credit with that pontiff, and all the college of cardinals, he knew to be great. The wording of the letter was probably trusted

V. P. Blesens.
Epist. 136,
in Appen-
dice.

trusted to him, and not sufficiently attended to by the king in that hurry of business. He drew it with much zeal for the cause of his master, but with some expressions of a dangerous tendency to the dignity and independence of his crown: for he made him speak as if he held his kingdom in a feudal subjection to the pope. Henry certainly acknowledged no such subjection before or after this time; nor is it credible that he meant to submit to it now, or authorise such a notion. But, that the pope was supreme lord over all Catholic kingdoms, and that all kings were vassals, was asserted, in that age, by many of the clergy, and more especially by the monks. Peter of Blois therefore wrote according to his own principles of religion and government, or accommodated his style to the wishes and pretensions of the court of Rome; and it may reasonably be supposed that the letter was sent without being shewn to the king. It does not appear that Alexander grounded upon it any demand of homage and fealty from that prince, or ever considered it in any other light than as a compliment paid to him by the courtesy of the secretary, on which no stress could be laid. But he found himself perplexed in what manner to act. For, the king of France being joined with Henry's sons in this war, and the principal fomentor of their rebellion, whatever censures were fulminated against the rebels, and against their notorious adherents, must necessarily fall on that monarch, the most devoted friend to the person of the pope, and the most obsequious servant of the pontificate. On the other hand, there was something so very odious and shocking in this unnatural and unprovoked revolt, such a complication of impiety, treason, and ingratitude, that Alexander was sensible he should bring a great scandal upon himself and his see, if he did not use that authority which he claimed as inherent in the successors

Benedict.
Abb.
Gervase,
Brompton,
ad ann. 1173.

Dicetolmag.
Hist. f. 571.

Neubrigen-
sis, l. ii. c. 28.
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.
Gervase.
Brompton.
Diceto, ad
ann. 1173.

efforts of St. Peter, to endeavour to suppress it, at the request of a king, to whom he had personally the highest obligations, which were known to all Europe. In this dilemma, he chose rather to act as a mediator between the two parties, than offensively against either; but so to mediate, as warmly to interpose his good offices in favour of Henry, and labour to procure an honourable peace for that king. His legates therefore employed their utmost endeavours to extinguish the flame that was ready to break out; while Henry lay at Rouen, observing the motions of the confederate princes, and collecting, not only from his territories in France, but from England and Ireland, all the troops he could venture to draw out of those islands, which, joined to the mercenaries he had hired before, composed such an army of well-disciplined soldiers as did not fear to oppose the much more numerous forces, which the king of France and the earl of Flanders were diligently raising in all their dominions.

A contemporary writer affirms, that in Flanders these levies met with great opposition from the chief nobility there; but, the power of the earl overcoming their honest dislike to the service, he and his brother were ready, in the month of June eleven hundred and seventy-three, to act in concert with Louis, who had now raised a mighty host, in which were no fewer than seven thousand knights, and who proposed to begin the operations of the war by invading Normandy on the side of Verneuil in Perche, while the two earls should attack it on the side of Picardy, by laying siege to Aumale. Henry had provided for the safety of both these frontiers by good garrisons in the forts, committing the custody of the town and castle of Verneuil to the valiant Hugh de Lacy, and Hugh de Beauchamp, and that of Aumale (or Albemarle, as it was then called) to the earl who derived

derived his title from that castle, but had also very great possessions in England. On the twenty-ninth day of June, the Flemings invested the latter of these places, which, though able to have made a long defence, was quickly surrendered to them. The whole garrison and the earl of Albemarle himself were made prisoners at discretion; but he purchased his freedom by consenting to give up to the young king of England all his other forts and castles, which laid him under a violent suspicion of perfidy in the loss of this place, though he threw the blame of it on the treachery of the garrison, who forced him (as he said) to this very dishonourable capitulation. From Aumale, the two brothers, much elated with so prosperous a beginning of the war, went to besiege Neuchatel, another royal fortress, which, though better defended, was obliged to capitulate, in less than a fortnight, by the mighty force of the engines where-with it was battered. But the earl of Boulogne, in this siege, (as some historians of that age affirm,) or (according to others) in that of the castle of Driencourt, which was taken by the Flemings soon after Neuchatel, received a wound in the knee, by an arrow from a cross-bow, and died within a few days. The earl of Flanders here-upon retired out of Normandy, accusing himself, with loud and repeated lamentations, of having merited and drawn down this judgment of God on his brother and himself, by making war against a prince, his near kinsman, who had conferred on him many benefits, and never done him any wrong, to support the quarrel of a most unnatural son.

Neubrigen-
sis, l. ii. c. 28.
Gervase.
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1173.

These reproaches of his conscience, awakened by calamity, were indeed too well founded. Nor had his brother less cause for penitence on his death-bed; he also having been particularly bound to the service of that king whom he had conspired

to

to dethrone, not only by the solemn oaths of fealty, but by favours received, and stipends paid until the time of his taking part in this treason. Well therefore might he think the loss of his life, in the outset of this war, a just punishment of his guilt; and well might the earl of Flanders, who had drawn him into it, tremble himself at the thought of the vengeance of God impending over his own head.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1173.

About the time that the Flemings were besieging Neuchatel, the king of France had set down before Verneuil, which consisted of three burghs, each inclosed with strong walls, and with a ditch full of water, besides a castle, or tower, commanding the whole town. Louis made his chief attack on that called *the great burgh*, which was very full of people; and, though the garrison bravely resisted and repelled the assaults of his troops; yet at the end of a month, provisions growing very scanty, the burghers were permitted to conclude an agreement, that this part of the town should be yielded to that king on the ninth day of July, if they were not succoured before. The time granted was short, being no more than three days, during which they enjoyed the benefit of a truce, with permission to advertise King Henry, their master, of the extremity to which they were reduced. That prince, from an apprehension of dividing his forces, had remained, during the greatest part of the summer, in a state of inaction at Rouen, affecting to seem much at ease, hunting oftener than usual, and shewing to all who approached him a countenance serene and chearful, as in a time of settled peace; by which artifice he kept up the spirits of his friends, who thought he saw, more than they, that he had nothing to fear. But, the earl of Boulogne being dead, and the earl of Flanders having therefore withdrawn his own forces, as well as those of Boulogne,

Diceto
Imag.
Hist. sub.
ann. 1173.

Neubrigensis, Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.
Brompton,
sub ann.
1173.

logne, out of the Norman dominions, Henry found himself strong enough to attack the French army before Verneuil. With this intent, he left Rouen at the head of ten thousand of his mercenary forces, and of a body of Normans experienced in wars against the French by dwelling on the marches. The earls of Arundel and Essex, the earl of Vendome, Richard de Humet, Henry's constable in the dutchy of Normandy, and some other barons of that country, commanded under him. On the sixth day of August he arrived at Conches, a strong post, where he encamped for two days, that some troops he expected to join him there might come up, which they did on the seventh. Here he learned from the deputies sent out of Verneuil the convention they had made; and on this notice advanced, the following day, to Breteuil, where he drew up his army in order of battle, being now within two leagues of the enemy's camp. When the first intelligence was brought to Louis from Conches, of his arrival at that place, and of his purpose to attempt the relief of Verneuil, that monarch and his troops received the news with ridicule, not only (says a good contemporary author) ^{Neubrigen-} from the arrogance and presumption natural to the ^{sis,} French, but because, in numbers and all the equip- ^{l. ii. c. 28,} ment of an army, they seemed superior. On his nearer approach, Louis sent a bishop and an abbot, to demand of him formally, in the name of their master, whether he came to give battle. He was met by these envoys, in his march from Breteuil, some furlongs before the body of his army, at the head of an advanced party, and completely armed at all points. When they had delivered their message, he put on a stern look, and with a terrible voice bade them go and tell their king, he was hastening to fight him. The report they made struck a terror into the hearts of the French. Henry's soldiers, on the contrary, were very eager to

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.
Brompton,
sub ann.
1173.

to fight ; which alacrity was particularly inflamed in the Normans, by a military harangue, addressed to those of that nation by the earl of Arundel, the best orator among the nobles of those days, wherein he set forth the great examples of valour, given to them by their countrymen in former times, and the flagrant injustice and perfidy of the French, who excited and supported such an impious rebellion of sons against their father. This speech was received with martial acclamations, which spread from the Normans to all the other bands : but, while they were advancing to attack the enemy's camp, the earl of Dreux, the earl of Blois, and the archbishop of Sens, came to Henry, and informed him, that the king of France was desirous of a conference with him, in order to treat of a peace between him and his sons. Henry abhorring this war, and wishing to end it as speedily as he could, consented to grant the French a truce for one day more ; and it was agreed, that King Louis, and the young princes of England, should confer with him, the next day, at an hour and place then appointed. He would, perhaps, have done better, if he had taken immediate advantage of the ardour he saw in his troops. Such moments are decisive ; victory seemed to invite him ; nor could any other means so effectually crush the conspiracies formed against him, or deter his enemies, for the future, from forming more, as winning a battle against the king of France in person. But, instead of trying his fortune, he retired to his former post at Conches, from whence, the next day, he returned to the place assigned for the conference, encamping his army on some eminences not far off, as that of the French was so near. After having waited beyond the hour appointed, without seeing Louis, or receiving from him any message in excuse for his absence, he began to suspect some deceit, and of-

V. Autores
citatos ut
supra

ten casting his eyes, with an anxious impatience, towards Verneuil, he saw, on a sudden, rising from the great burgh, a very black cloud of smoke, and presently afterwards flames of fire. The cause of this was an act of the most infamous perfidy done by the king of France: for that prince had availed himself of the suspension of arms, which Henry had so frankly and so generously granted at his request, to summon the burghesses, with whom he had made the above-mentioned convention, to surrender to him the burgh, as they had bound themselves to do, if the siege was not raised before that day: and they, ignorant of the reasons which occasioned the delay of the expected relief, thought it necessary to comply with this demand. When he had thus fraudulently obtained admission within their walls, he set fire to the place, and retired that evening to his own territories, in the isle of France near adjacent, carrying off all the burghesses, with the hostages they had given him, and all their goods; though he had sworn not to hurt or suffer others to hurt them, but to return them their hostages on the actual surrender of the great burgh to him at the stipulated time; which solemn obligation was guaranteed by the oaths of his brother the earl of Dreux, of the earls of Champagne and of Blois, and of the archbishop of Sens. On what pretence this was done we are not told: but there must have been something, if not to justify, yet to palliate and excuse, both to themselves and the world, so flagrant a perjury.

When King Henry was informed, by the return of his scouts, or by messengers from the town, of these events, he led his army to Verneuil, and detached some light horse to harraß the French in their retreat, as some authors affirm, who likewise say that these troops put many to the sword, and took captive a greater number, though none of high rank: but William of Newbury de-

nies

V. Autore
citatos ut
suprà.

nies that there was any pursuit; nor does he accuse the king of France of any breach of faith in this whole transaction. Whether his silence about the facts, on which that charge was founded, is sufficient to invalidate the positive testimony of three contemporary writers, viz. the abbot of Peterborough, Hoveden, and Brompton, the reader will judge: but thus much is certain; that the precipitate raising of the siege of Verneuil, and retiring out of Normandy upon Henry's approach, brought on Louis more disgrace, than he would have suffered by the loss of a battle; and if to this ignominy was added the perfidy imputed to him, one can hardly imagine a more shameful commencement of an evil undertaking. It seems that soon afterwards, his vassals having completed their forty days service, the whole army broke up; for he undertook nothing more during the course of this year.

Henry, after bestowing on his mercenary troops, whose love of plunder he well knew, all the booty left behind in the enemy's camp, which consisted of large stores of wine and victuals, and after giving due praise to the garrison of Verneuil, for the gallant defence they had made, returned from thence to Rouen, not thinking it proper to act offensively against his *liege lord*, the king of France, within his own domain, or for other reasons not explained by the writers of those times. On his way he took Damville, a castle belonging to one of his rebel barons, and in it many knights. From Rouen he sent his Brabanters (which name is given by all the historians of that age to his mercenary troops, because they came from Brabant) into a part of Bretagne, where the earl of Chester, in conjunction with the baron de Fougères, had taken Dol, a frontier town on the borders of Normandy, and some other fortified places, more by treachery than

than by force. On the twentieth of August, these troops fought a battle with the rebels, whom, notwithstanding a great superiority of numbers, they entirely defeated. Fifteen hundred Bretons were killed, and many taken prisoners, in the fight and pursuit. Among the captives was Asculf de St. Hilaire. The earl of Chester and the baron de Fougères retired, with many nobles of their party, and the remainder of their forces, to the castle of Dol, which was presently invested by the victorious Brabanters, who sent notice to Henry of their having thus shut them up. That monarch, full of joy at this good news, immediately set out from Rouen, and, by traveling all the night, without giving himself time to eat or sleep, arrived at Dol the next day. As soon as his engines were ready for battering the castle, which his presence greatly hastened, the besieged, who despaired of being able to defend it against the violence of them, and suffered extremely by being crowded together in too narrow a space, (which circumstance would have soon destroyed them by famine) saw no other resource but the mercy of their sovereign, and surrendered the fort at discretion. Near a hundred nobles, the flower and strength of Bretagne, were thus delivered up into the hands of this prince: but the most important prize was Hugh earl of Chester, whose great power in England, united to that of the other English rebels, might have endangered the realm, if he had not been prevented from acting there, by being driven into this untenable castle, as into a net which his destiny had spread for him, and out of which he could not, by any efforts, escape.

The mercenaries, who had done the king this great service, were all enriched by a booty, which, before the battle, they had taken from the Baron de Fougères, whose baggage they had seized, with many horses and much cattle belonging to him and

Neubrigen-
fia.
l. ii. c. 29.
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.
Brompton,
sub ann.
1173.

Robert de
Monte, ad
ann. 1173.

and his vassals, in a forest near his castle. This, together with the spoils of the captive soldiers at Dol, contributed not a little to support their alacrity, and their zeal for the service into which they had entered. Their reputation was likewise so confirmed by a victory gained entirely by their valour, that the fear of them dismayed all the enemies of the prince for whom they fought.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1173.
Neubrigenf.
L. ii. c. 30.

During the course of these events in France, the flames of civil war, which had been first kindled there, began to break out in England. Robert de Bellomont, earl of Leicester, surnamed *le bossu*, that is, crookbacked, had, early in the spring, gone over to France with a licence from Henry, who had no suspicions of him, on pretence of attending to his private affairs in that country, but proposing to consult with Henry's enemies there what measures should be taken, on both sides of the water, to execute those designs against that King, of which he and Queen Eleanor are said to have been the first instigators. The imperfect knowledge we have of the secret intrigues which preceded this revolt, only permits us to form some uncertain conjectures on the particular motives which drew into it this earl, whose father had served Henry with great fidelity and affection, to the last hour of his life, in the highest office of state, as grand justiciary of England. Perhaps he may have wished to succeed to that office on the death of his father in the year eleven hundred and sixty-eight. But, besides that the precedent of its being so given might have tended to render it an hereditary dignity in the Bellomont family, such a grant would have been liable to another objection of no small weight. For this lord, by his marriage, was hereditary seneschal, or high steward of the crown, and there could be nothing more repugnant to the rules of true policy, than to suffer two offices of such power in the state to be engrossed by one

one man. Yet his passions might consider the depriving him of a place, which his father had enjoyed, as an ill return for the services done by that earl, and an offence to himself. But, whether resentment, or the hope of governing a young and unexperienced king, impelled him to this treason, or both these motives together, he acted in France as a chief incendiary of the war against his sovereign: on the discovery of which, by his joining the rebel princes at Paris, all his castles in Normandy were seized by Henry, and an order was sent into England to Richard de Lucy, and Reginald earl of Cornwall, that they should, without loss of time, take from him his chief strength, the town and castle of Leicester. Those to whom he had entrusted the custody of them refused to give them up, and stood a siege, during which the greatest part of the town was destroyed by an accidental fire. Soon afterwards, on the twenty-eighth of July, the townsmen capitulated, agreeing to surrender the remains of the town, and pay to the king a fine of three hundred marks, on condition of being permitted to retire, with all their effects, into some of the royal demesnes, and reside therein until the troubles in the realm should be ended, with full liberty to return, or remain in their new settlement, after that term. A truce also was granted to the garrison in the castle until the feast of St. Michael; which concessions were owing to advices received by Richard de Lucy, at this time, that the king of Scotland, at the head of a numerous army, had made a sudden irruption into Cumberland, and, after horrible devastations of all the open country, was besieging Carlisle. To oppose this invasion, the justiciary marched northwards, with the main body of the royal forces, having, before his departure, demolished the walls and fortifications of Leicester, so as to make it defenceless. The earl of Cornwall stayed behind,

Diceto.
Imag. Hist.
ad ann.
1173.
Benedict.
Abb.

Diceto.
Benedict.
Abb
Hoveden.
Neubrigen-
sis,
l. ii. c. 30.

with a strength sufficient to awe the earl of Leicester's vassals, who had knights fees in that county; and Richard de Lucy was joined, in his march to Carlisle, by Humphrey de Bohun, lord high constable of England, at the head of other troops raised by him in the north. While they were hastening to succour their country-men on the borders, the king of Scotland, who found, that his forces, unacquainted with the regular art of war, were continually repulsed in all their assaults by the garrison of Carlisle, raised the siege, and obtaining from the bishop of Durham, who secretly favoured the plot, a safe passage through his country into the northern parts of Yorkshire, layed them waste with most barbarous and merciless depredations; his army being chiefly composed of Galwegians, a fierce, uncivilized people, who were under no discipline, and whom no sense of humanity or of piety could restrain from such acts of savage cruelty in making war, that one cannot read without horror the accounts given of them by the writers of that age. All the enormities, which in the reign of King Stephen, the armies of David, William's grandfather, consisting of irregulars from the same country, had committed in the inroads they made into England, were now renewed. William ought to have learnt, from the experience of those times, that by employing these troops, whose rage and avarice, when let loose, he could not stop, he drew on himself a reproach, which the services they could do him would by no means compensate. So conscious was he indeed of their utter inability to contend with a regular and well-disciplined army, that, on the approach of the English, not daring to face them, he retired back to Scotland, but led captive a great multitude of the miserable people, whose country he had ruined. Henry's generals, in revenge of these inhuman hostilities, set fire to Berwick, and advancing

V. Autore
citatos ut
suprà.

ing from thence ravaged Lothian, for some time, without the least resistance.

While these military operations were going on ^{Benedict. Abb. Hoveden, ad ann. 1173.} in Great Britain, the pope's legates in France, and another Italian prelate, the archbishop of Larento, ^{ibidem.} endeavoured to mediate a peace between Louis and Henry, after the defeat of the earl of Chester and the rebels in Bretagne. Their intercessions prevailed to bring the two monarchs to an interview on their borders, at which were present Henry's sons and many nobles of both realms. In this conference, Henry offered to give his eldest son, who had complained that his revenues were not sufficient to support his royal dignity, half of those he drew himself from his own demesnes in England, and four castles in that kingdom fit for his son to inhabit; or, if he should chuse to reside in Normandy, half of the revenues of that duchy and the whole revenue of Anjou, with three castles in Normandy, to which Hoveden says he added one in Anjou, one in Touraine, and one in Maine. To Richard he offered half of the revenue of Aquitaine, with four castles in that country; and to Geoffry all the territories, which the daughter of Conan, the late duke of Bretagne, inherited from her father; if, with the consent of the pope, he could marry that lady, to whom he was betrothed. Concerning the last of these offers, it must be observed, that, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-seven, John of Oxford had obtained a dispensation from Alexander for the marriage of Geoffry with Constantine of Bretagne, his third cousin, when both the parties should be of a proper age for that union, which they hardly were at this time: but it seems that some difficulties had been afterwards raised on this point, which had caused the pontiff to revoke or suspend the authority of the concession then made, until further information.

V. Epist. S. Thom. 102. l. ii. edit. Bruffels. See also the 2d vol. of this Hist. 440.

Henry concluded his proposals with generously declaring, that he would entirely submit to the arbitration of the legates and the archbishop of Taranto, whether any addition, and how much, should be made to these grants, *only retaining to himself, in all the cessions he should make, the right of sovereignty and supreme administration of justice.* It must be understood that this *sovereignty* only meant a *superiority* over his sons in those fiefs, for which he himself was a vassal of the crown of France: the royal power which belonged to him in absolute independency, as king of England, not extending to those, and nothing being more remote from his purposes at this time than to deny or dispute the sovereignty of Louis over all these ancient members of the French kingdom. But his reserving to himself, in the territories of France which he ceded to his sons, a superior dominion over his sons, as sub-vassals, and the exercise of those powers which belonged to that dominion, would have defeated the main political purpose, which Louis had in fomenting the revolt of those princes, namely, the breaking of that greatness, arising from the multitude of accumulated fiefs, which rendered him, and might render every future king of England descended from him, a vassal of France much too mighty for the monarchy and state. Louis therefore, with the advice of his ministers and council, declared to him, the next morning, when their interview was renewed, his refusal of these offers, and easily brought the young princes, who had put themselves absolutely under his direction, to make the same answer. At this meeting, the earl of Leicester, who attended in their train, desiring to prevent the conclusion of a treaty to which he might be a victim, threw out many opprobrious words against Henry, and, in speaking to that prince, laid his hand on his sword.

This

This occasioned a great tumult; the conference was broke off; and, while Henry, much offended, returned to Gisors, some of his knights had a conflict with those of Louis, in which Engelram de Trie, a Castellan of the Vexin, who about fourteen years before, in the war of Toulouse, had been taken by Becket, was again made a prisoner by William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, who delivered him to Henry at Gisors, as he desired to submit to the mercy of that King, whose vassal he was for his castle.

The earl of Leicester soon afterwards went from France into Flanders, and passed from thence into England, at the head of a considerable body of Flemings, which, it seems, the earl of Flanders put under his conduct, or permitted him to raise by a commission from Louis and from the young king of England, in pursuance of the measures concerted with those princes. He landed, on the seventeenth or eighteenth of October, near the castle of Walton, a fort belonging to Hugh Bigot, earl of Norfolk and of Suffolk, at the mouth of the river Orwell in the county of Suffolk; from whence he proceeded to the castle of Framlingham in the same county, the capital seat of that earl, his accomplice in rebellion, who received him there, with his lady, the countess of Leicester, and with all his foreign troops; the wide enclosure of the walls containing thirteen towers and many other buildings. When they had thus joined their forces, the first attempt of these lords was to make themselves masters of the neighbouring town of Dunwich, which in those times was considerable and full of wealth; but, the inhabitants making a more courageous resistance than had been expected from them, the two earls raised the siege, and contented themselves with the more easy conquest of Hageneth castle, which held out but four days.

During

Benedict.
Abb. p. 67.
68. T. i.

Benedict,
Abb. T. i.
p. 68.
Hoveden.
Gervase
Chron.
Brompton
Chron.
Diceto
Imag.
Hist. sub
ann. 1173.

Camden's
Britan.
Suffolk.

Neubrigen-
sis.

Benedict.

Abb. Hoveden, ad ann.

1173.

Neubrigenf.

l. ii. c. 30.

During these operations in the county of Suffolk, intelligence being sent to Richard de Lucy and Humphrey de Bohun in Lothian of the earl of Leicester's junction with Hugh Bigot, they kept the news very secret, and offered a truce to the Scots till the feast of St. Hilary, which the king of Scotland, who was ignorant of their motive for desiring it, very gladly accepted; and hostages, to secure the due observance of it, were delivered on both sides. The English army, thus enabled to retire out of Scotland, returned in part to the counties from which they had been levied: but a large body of them, led by Humphrey de Bohun, advanced with great expedition to the South-East, and arriving at St. Edmondsbury in Suffolk, about the end of October, was joined there by the earls of Cornwall, Arundel, and Gloucester.

Diceto ad
ann. 1173.Neubrigenf.
l. ii. c. 30.

Hugh Bigot, after Hageneth castle was taken, having no other enterprize to pursue in those parts, thought it very inexpedient to keep such a number of foreign troops in his castle and feed them at his cost. Nor would his lady endure to be longer incommoded with such troublesome guests, who were the more irksome to her as she did not well agree with the countess of Leicester. He therefore entreated the earl to remove all his Flemings into his own lands and forts. But to do this was not easy; the country between Leicestershire and the castle of Framlingham being full of the king's forces; for which reason that lord endeavoured to put off his departure from this place until further succours arrived; nevertheless, as he found his host weary of him, and was sensible, that, if the place were besieged, such a multitude, there inclosed, could not long find subsistence, he marched out of it, with his army, a little before All Saints day, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-three. Nor did he leave his wife behind;
for

for that lady had a bold masculine spirit, and was neither afraid nor unwilling to encounter any dangers in company with her husband, who flattered himself with some hope, that he might pass unopposed; as, among the king's troops, which were posted round about him, many nobles and leaders were his personal friends. But he chiefly confided in the valour of his army, which consisted of a body of about fourscore knights and other chosen horsemen, with an infantry heavy-armed, to the number of four or five thousand, besides archers and light horse attendant on the knights. Hugh de Chatel, a French nobleman of eminent dignity, and Walter de Wahull, a baron of Bedfordshire, commanded these forces under the earl of Leicester. Having received information, that the enemy, with a cavalry much superior to theirs, was at St. Edmonsbury, which lay directly in their road as they advanced towards Leicester, they tried to avoid the necessity of a battle by leaving that town on their left; but coming into a common, not far distant from Fernham, which had swampy grounds on each side, they found the king's army drawn up there in good order, with the banner of St. Edmond, taken from the abbey, and waving in their front. Seeing therefore no means of declining an engagement, they hastily formed their line, and prepared for it with a good appearance of courage. But, though their infantry much outnumbered the enemy, yet the cavalry of the latter being four to one of theirs, and fighting on a plain, they could not stand the first shock. Of the foot, very few escaped alive; and most of the Flemish horsemen, with the two chiefs above-mentioned, and the earl of Leicester himself, were made prisoners of war. The countess, seeing all lost, and coming in her flight to a river, threw into it a ring, with a jewel of great

Diceto
Neubrigenf.
Benedict.

Abb.
Hoveden.
Brompton,
ad ann.

1173.

M. Paris, ad
ann. 1173.

great value, which she had on her finger, to prevent its being taken (as she immediately was herself) by those who pursued her.

V. Autores
citatos ut
suprà.

When the news of this event, most fortunate for Henry, was brought to that monarch, he commanded the prisoners of the greatest rank and distinction to be sent into Normandy, and soon afterwards led his Brabanters from thence into Anjou, where some forts of the rebels were surrendered up to him, and in one of them many knights and gentlemen of that country. About the feast of St. Andrew he laid siege to Vendome, which appears to have been in those days a fief of Touraine, and was held against him for his son by Richard de Lavardin, who, having married a daughter of the earl of Vendome, had driven his father-in-law out of the town for refusing to join in this revolt. It concerned Henry's honour to reinstate that lord, as soon as possible, in his fief; which he performed before Christmas, and then returned into Normandy, where he stayed all the winter, having concluded with Louis a suspension of arms from the feast of St. Hilary to the end of the Easter holidays in the year eleven hundred and seventy-four. The truce made with the king of Scotland by Richard de Lucy was also prolonged to that term, in consideration of the sum of three hundred marks, which, through the mediation of the bishop of Durham, the gentry of Northumberland agreed to pay to that prince; a bribe so small, that the taking of it seems to demonstrate a great want of money in his coffers at this time. After the rout of the Flemings, Henry's forces, by which that victory was obtained, went into winter quarters; the late season not suffering them to undertake the siege of Framlingham castle.

But, though the fury of this war was thus restrained for some months in England and in France,

France, designs were busily formed among the confederates to renew it in both countries with more extraordinary efforts, when the time of the year would permit. Their plan was, that the earl of Flanders, in conjunction with young Henry, and at the head of a powerful army of Flemings, should land in Kent or Suffex, while the Scots should attack the northern counties of England, and while Louis should turn his arms against Normandy, and other dominions belonging to the elder Henry in France, with the aid of the Dukes of Aquitaine and Bretagne, and their adherents in those parts. To put this in execution it was necessary to wait until the following summer, when it would be safer for so great an embarkation of troops to pass the sea; and there was some difficulty to bring the earl of Flanders himself to concur in the project; those sentiments which the death of his brother had excited, not having yet wholly lost their influence on his mind: but the fealty he had sworn to the young king of England in doing him homage for Kent, together with his desire of obtaining that province, got the better of his scruples. He therefore took a new oath, in the presence of the king and nobles of France, engaged with him in the league, to be ready with an army and fleet for this purpose, within the term of fifteen days after Midsummer next ensuing. In the mean time, the young Henry, by his emissaries and letters, endeavoured to seduce the barons of England from their loyalty to his father. Contemporary writers suppose, Neubrigensis, l. ii. c. 31. 32. he succeeded so well in these attempts, that few of the nobles maintained their fidelity quite firm and unshaken. But allowance must be made for what, on such occasions, is usually added to truth by groundless suspicions, by the fears of the people, by the malice of party, and by the unwarranted

warranted rumours, or aggravated reports, of common fame.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden,
Gervase.
Brompton,
ad ann.
1174.

At the end of the Easter holydays in the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, the truce which the king of Scotland had made with the English being expired, he poured into Northumberland a deluge of Barbarians, who wasted all the western parts of that country, where (if we may believe the testimony of writers who lived in those times) they carried the rage and madness of their cruelty to such a monstrous excess, that they even ripped up the bellies of women big with child, and tossed the babes, taken out of them, on the points of their spears. When the fury of these undisciplined soldiery, who having no pay but plunder could be under no restraint, had wearied itself there, William their king, being strengthened by some regular bands of Flemish horse and foot, which he had hired for this service, went into Westmoreland, and advancing to Carlisle without opposition laid siege to that city; but finding it bravely defended, he formed a blockade with part of his army, and with the other took the castles of Harbottle, Warkworth, and Liddel; which being done, he returned, and so closely shut up Carlisle, that, provisions beginning to fail, the governor, Robert de Vaux, agreed to surrender the town and castle to him on the feast of St. Michael, if not succoured by Henry before that time.

Neubrigen-
sis, l. ii. c.
32.
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden,
ad. ann.
1174.

Hostages having been given to secure the performance of this capitulation, the king drew off his troops, and invested the castle of Prudhow on the Tyne. While he lay before this place, which he feared to leave behind him and could not take, the Lord Roger de Mowbray, a principal rebel, whom Geoffry, bishop of Lincoln, had driven out of Yorkshire, came to beg his assistance.

That prelate, a natural son of King Henry and of Rosamond Clifford, had, in the year eleven hundred

hundred and seventy-three, the twentieth of his age, been elected to that see, and enjoyed the profits of it by the pope's dispensation, but had not yet been consecrated by the archbishop, nor even taken priest's orders. When the rebellion broke out, he used his endeavours (agreeably to a counsel which the chancellor of Ely officiously gave him), to assist his father by raising a sum of money in his diocese, as a free contribution from the gentry and people: but being apprised that this gift, which could not easily be refused, was deemed an exaction, and did the king more harm than good, he returned the whole collection, though it was a very large one, back again to the donors. This made him very popular; and he presently found that on such occasions affection is more valuable than gold: for, the country about Lincoln being ravaged by the garrison of Kinardsferry castle in the isle of Axholm, a strong fortress belonging to Roger de Mowbray, he chose to throw off his ecclesiastical character, and put himself, as a baron, at the head of his vassals: but, these forces alone not being able to make head against the rebels, a great number of volunteers, out of regard to his person, flocked to his banner from all the circumjacent parts, with whose aid he surprised the castle of Kinardsferry, and levelled it with the ground. Presently afterwards came to him Ranulph de Glanville, then sheriff of Yorkshire, and implored him, in the name of the archbishop of York, and of all the other faithful servants of the king in that county, to go and join his arms with theirs, in order to resist the hostilities of the Scots, who intended, when the castle of Prudhow should be taken, to march through the bishoprick of Durham into Yorkshire, and lay it waste in conjunction with Roger de Mowbray, by whose troops from his castles of Malepart and Thirsk it was already

Diceto
Imag. Hist.
ad ann.
1173.
Girald.
Cambrenf.
de Vitâ
Galf. Arch.
in Angliâ
Sacra, par.
ii. p. 378,
379.

already infested. Geoffry, who had just dismissed all his forces, and was very doubtful whether any of them, except his own knights, would follow him out of the county, sent away Glanville without a positive answer: but, finding in them an alacrity beyond his hopes, he soon raised a fine army, with which he marched into Yorkshire, joined the barons of that province, and, while the Scots were detained from passing over the Tyne by the obstinate defence of the castle of Prudhow, took and demolished that of Malepart, which Roger de Mowbray had built within about twenty miles of York. This lord, who was then in his other fortress of Thirsk, fled from thence to the Scots, with whose king he before had confederated himself against his own sovereign, and asked the aid of that prince, who, apprehending that the army collected in Yorkshire might venture to fight him, and not chusing to stand the hazard of a battle until the Flemings should be landed, raised his siege, and, retiring from the Tyne further northwards, sat down before Alnwick in the county of Northumberland, intending only to check the excursions of the garrison with his regular troops, which amounted to about eight thousand men, while his irregulars wasted the eastern side of that province, as they had the western before. The bishop of Lincoln, informed of the retreat of the Scots, built a castle at Topcliff, the custody of which he committed to William de Stuteville, for the security of the borders, and leaving some of his knights, to strengthen the army of the Yorkshire barons, returned to his see with great glory.

Neubrigen-
fis,
l. ii. c. 33.
Girald.
Cambrensis,
ut suprà.

But in other parts of the kingdom, the state of the king's affairs at this time was unprosperous and alarming. For, the governor of Leicester castle, named Aschetill de Mallore, after ravaging all the country in the neighbourhood of his fort, defeated a body of the citizens of Northampton, and some of the

Neubrigen-
fis.
Benedict.
Abb. adann.
1174.

the king's horse, who had sallied out of that town to give them battle. The rebels were also much strengthened by Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby and Nottingham, declaring himself on their side. He and his vassals, in conjunction with those of the earl of Leicester, who sought to revenge the captivity of their lord, surprised, sacked, and burned, the royal burgh of Nottingham, committed by Henry to the custody of Reginald de Lucy. Great danger was feared from the confederacy of this lord with David earl of Huntingdon, whom his brother, the king of Scotland, had sent to command the rebel forces at Leicester. Richard de Lucy hereupon, either by general powers entrusted to him as regent, or by special orders from Henry, declared to Simon de Senlis, earl of Northampton, who was legally prosecuting in the king's court a claim of inheritance to the earldom of Huntingdon, that, if he could by his sword recover that province out of the hands of the Scot, who had forfeited it by his treason, the king would confirm it, without further litigation, to him and his heirs. On this offer the earl immediately raised his vassals, and, joining them to the forces which Richard de Lucy had assembled, came with him before Huntingdon, on the twenty-third day of June. At the approach of this army, the garrison of the castle set fire to the town, and betook themselves to their fortress, which being strong, the justiciary did not think it expedient to harass the king's troops in endeavouring to take it, but erected a fort, sufficient to restrain the excursions of the garrison, before the gate, and committing the custody thereof to the earl, went to visit other places, where his presence was necessary for services more important. As he had no men to spare, he solicited Rhceas ap Gryffyth, Henry's vassal in South Wales, to repay the great favours he had received from that king in the year eleven hundred and

Brompton.
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.
ad ann.
1174.

and seventy-one, by assisting him in this crisis, and leading into Staffordshire an army of Welsh, to besiege the earl of Derby's castle at Tutbury on the river Dove, which was the capital mansion of that powerful rebel, and the chief defence of his vast estate in those parts. This attack, he supposed, would draw the earl from those counties, where his acting in concert with David, earl of Huntingdon, especially if the Scots should advance to assist them, was most to be apprehended. Rhees, whose heart the king had gained, gladly embraced this occasion of doing him a good service, and having raised a great force, marched with it through Herefordshire to Tutbury castle.

In the mean time the justiciary's most anxious attention was continually employed in guarding the coasts, exposed to the invasion which he knew was intended from Flanders and Boulogne. A body of Flemings (among whom were five hundred knights, chosen out of the whole army) having been received by Hugh Bigot, about the middle of June, into his several castles in Norfolk and Suffolk, conformably to an order from the young king of England, had taken and pillaged the city of Norwich, under the conduct of that disloyal earl. But this was only preparatory to the greater invasion proposed to be made before the end of the summer. Intelligence of the forwardness of that design arrived daily ; and the alarm was so great, that Richard de Lucy and others, to whom the administration of government was entrusted in the absence of Henry, agreed to send over the archdeacon of Poitiers, who had lately been elected bishop of Winchester, to represent to that prince, whose confidence he had gained by an ardent zeal for his service, the necessity of his coming without delay into England, to take care of his kingdom in this imminent danger.

The

The active spirit of Henry had not been unem-^{ibidem}ployed during the spring of this year. He had recovered the capital city of Saintonge out of the hands of some rebels, who had taken possession of it in the name of Duke Richard, by coming upon them sooner than they had expected, or believed to be possible; and had visited his provinces on the river Loire, over which, when he left them, and over the earldom of Maine, he made Maurice de Craon, a brave and faithful servant, his deputy or vicegerent, having also committed the government and defence of the duchy of Aquitaine to a regency of six nobles, the most worthy of that trust in the several provinces thereunto belonging. On the feast of St. John the Baptist, the bishop of Winchester found him at the castle of Bonneville, on the frontier of Normandy, consulting anxiously with all the lords of the marches, and all the governors of his towns and fortresses in that duchy, how best to defend them against the French, who, he knew, were preparing their utmost force to attack them, under the conduct of their king. The whole assembly was full of that courage and alacrity, which Henry felt himself, and knew how to inspire, on occasions of this nature, into the hearts of his servants. But the bishop of Winchester, with great truth, as the exigence required, laid before him, in the name of his whole English council, the perilous state of his kingdom. He shewed him, that the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk being in the power of Hugh Bigot, and the midland provinces full of the earl of Derby's, the earl of Huntington's, and the earl of Leicester's adherents, if the Scots should break into the northern parts of England, and the young king, with so great an army of Flemings as the earl of Flanders had raised to support him in this enterprise, should land in the southern, their strength would become almost irresistible, even supposing that all
who

who had not yet declared for them should continue loyal: but he added, that suspicions had been lately conceived of the earls of Gloucester and Clare, two noblemen the most potent in all the west of England; and if young Henry, whom his father himself had crowned king, and to whom all the barons of that realm had done homage, should be there in person, supported by such great foreign armies, whilst his father was absent, and employed in defending other territories abroad, it was to be feared, many more of the nobility and gentry would go over to him, not so much from inclination, as on motives of safety.

The king, whose own prudence had made him see the expediency of his being in England before his son, had commanded a fleet to be ready at Barfleur for transporting him over, and had sent thither his most important prisoners, whom it would not have been prudent to leave behind, particularly the earl of Chester, and the earl and countess of Leicester, who had been confined many months in the castle of Falaise. But anxiety to secure his valuable territories on that side of the water had delayed his departure so long, that, if his son and the Flemings had not happily been detained by contrary winds in the port of Gravelines for some days, they would have landed before him, to the very great detriment of his affairs in this kingdom, which ought to have been his first care. The information now given by the bishop of Winchester so convinced him of the danger of losing more time on any account whatsoever, that he hastened immediately to embark at Barfleur, taking with him the two queens, his own consort and his son's, as he reasonably supposed that the custody of them would be safer in England, during his abode in that isle, than it could be in France. On the eighth of July, very early in the
morn-

morning, the wind being fair, he set sail: but, the gale encreasing, and the sea beginning to grow rough, he observed in the countenances of the mariners some doubt of the safety of the voyage; whereupon, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said, "If the Supreme Ruler designs, by my arrival in England, to restore to my people that peace, which he knows I sincerely have at heart, may he mercifully bring me to a safe port: but, if his will has decreed to scourge the realm, may I never be permitted to reach its shore." These sentiments, so becoming a Christian and a king, and which his subsequent actions proved to have been real, were not unrewarded: for, that evening he arrived, without the loss of a ship, in the harbour of Southampton; his son and the earl of Flanders lying at Gravelines wind-bound, or deterred from sailing, if they had the same wind as he, by the violence of it, and the roughness of the sea in that part of the channel.

William of Newbury says, that there came with Henry into England only one troop, or one squadron, of his mercenary soldiers: but others speak of their numbers as very considerable; and all mention some cavalry which he likewise brought over; but of what nation, or how many these were, we are not told. Probably most of them were the English lords and knights who had served him in France. But, instead of leading them, immediately after his landing, to join his royal army under Richard de Lucy, in order to act, with his usual alacrity, against the rebels, he went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of the late Archbishop Becket, with the fame of whose miracles, the whole realm was now filled, and whom the pope, by a bull, dated in March the year before, had declared a saint and a martyr, appointing an anniversary festival to be kept on the day of his death, in order (says the bull) *that, being continually applied to by*

Diceto
Imag. Hist.
col. 576.
Mat. Paris,
ad ann.
1174.

Neubrigen-
sis, l.ii.c.32.

Diceto.
Brompton.
M. Paris, ad
ann. 1174.

v. Epist. s.
Tho. l. v.
epist. 93.
& Cod. Vati-
cano.

the prayers of the faithful, he should intercede with God for the clergy and people of England. Henry therefore, desiring to obtain for himself this intercession, or to make others believe that the wrath of an enemy, to whom it was supposed that such power was given, might be thus averted from him, thought it necessary to visit the shrine of this new-created saint; and as soon as he came within sight of the tower of Canterbury cathedral, at the distance of three miles, descended from his horse, and walked thither barefoot, over a road that was full of rough and sharp stones, which so wounded his feet, that in many places they were stained with his blood. When he got to the tomb, which was then in the crypt of the church, he threw himself prostrate before it, and remained for some time in fervent prayer; during which, by his orders, the bishop of London, in his name, declared to the people, "that he had neither commanded, nor advised, nor by any artifice contrived, the death of Becket; for the truth of which he appealed, in the most solemn manner, to the testimony of God: but, as the murderers of that prelate had taken occasion from his words, too inconsiderately spoken, to commit this offence, he voluntarily thus submitted himself to the discipline of the church." After this, he was scourged, at his own request and command, by all the monks of the convent assembled for that purpose, from every one of whom, and from several bishops and abbots there present, he received three or four stripes. This sharp penance being done, he returned to his prayers before the tomb, which he continued all that day, and all the next night, not even suffering a carpet to be spread beneath him, but kneeling on the hard pavement. Early in the morning, he went round all the altars of the church, and paid his devotions to the bodies of the saints there interred; which having performed, he

Diceto, col.
c69—577.
Hoveden,
ad ann.
1174.

Gervase.
Hoveden.
Brompton.
Diceto,
ad ann.
1174.

Gervase.

he came back to Becket's tomb, where he stayed until the hour when mass was said in the church, at which he assisted.

During all this time, he had taken no kind of food: and, except when he gave his naked body to be whipt, was clad in sackcloth. Before his departure, (that he might fully complete the expiation of his sin according to the notions of the Church of Rome) he assigned a revenue of forty pounds a year, to keep lights always burning in honour of Becket about his tomb. The next evening, he reached London, where he found it necessary to be blooded, and rest some days.

Neubrigen-
sis, l. ii. c. 34.

Thus was concluded this very extraordinary scene, which requires some reflections. If the report of Becket's miracles, or the authority of Rome in his canonization, did really work such a change in Henry's mind, as to make him now deem that prelate, with whose whole conduct he had been so well acquainted, a saint and a martyr, it is a most wonderful instance of the prevalence of bigotry over human reason. But, if he continued to think of the man and the cause, as he had hitherto thought, this pilgrimage to his tomb, these prostrations before it, these acts of worship paid to him, were an impious hypocrisy and mockery of God, which no policy could excuse. And that he did so, may not unreasonably be inferred from his subsequent conduct in many particulars, but more especially from some words which Giraldus Cambrensis affirms to have been spoken by him after this time. He tells us, that William earl of Arundel and of Suffex (whose father of the same name had died in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six) having been excommunicated by the bishop of Norwich, on a dispute about some lands, complained to the king of that sentence, who said thereupon, in the hearing of many, "*I advise you, bishops, to behave yourselves with more mo-*

V. G. Cambren. in Angliæ Sacra, T. ii. p. 430.

See Dugdale's Baronage, Arundel.

*deration towards the barons of my realm, and not
 to excommunicate them so precipitately; because,
 if one of you has had the good fortune to succeed
 in such presumption, all will not: nor will every
 one who may be killed for such rash attempts, im-
 mediately obtain the reputation of a martyr on
 that account."* Supposing him therefore to have
 been insincere in his veneration of Becket, it must
 be considered how far this act was consistent with
 the rules of true policy; and it seems to me very
 questionable, even in that light: for, certainly, by
 exalting the character of that prelate, he sunk his
 own. He took care indeed, by the solemn declaration
 which the bishop of London made in his name to
 the people, that they should not look upon him as
 the wilful murderer of a man whose sanctity he ac-
 knowledged; but this vindication went no fur-
 ther than to clear him of that guilt; it did not ex-
 tend to any of his other proceedings with Becket;
 and by encouraging the opinion of the archbishop's
 having been a saint and a martyr, he threw the
 most odious colours of impiety and of tyranny
 on all those proceedings, in which the honour of
 his parliament, as well as his own, was concerned.
 It implied a condemnation of the constitutions of
 Clarendon, which he had never yet given up. Nor
 does it appear that he was under any real necessity
 of making such a sacrifice to the bigotry of the
 people. For there is not the least intimation in
 any history of those times, or letter then written,
 that those who had rebelled against him in Eng-
 land, alledged a zeal for the cause which Becket
 had supported, or his sufferings in that cause, to
 justify their revolt. All the temporal lords had
 been eager for confirming and maintaining those
 laws which he had opposed, and had encouraged
 the king to bring him to a trial, when the oath
 taken by him at Clarendon to observe them had
 been openly broken. The whole prelacy had con-
 curred in some of the sentences past against him
 at

at Northampton, and (what is very remarkable) Henry had lately promoted to episcopal sees, without opposition from the rest of the Clergy, those who most eminently had distinguished themselves by faithful services done to him and his realm during his contest with Becket. Among these was John of Oxford and Geoffry Ridel, whom that prelate, who considered them as his capital enemies, had therefore excommunicated at different times, and one of them (Ridel) in the last year of his life; which sentence he could not be persuaded to take off, after his peace with the king. By these promotions, Henry's interest in the church was much strengthened; nor was any prelate, at this time, suspected of disloyalty, except the bishop of Durham. On the contrary, the affection of the bishops for that prince was a main support of his throne. The monks indeed were fond of the memory of Becket; but the pope's absolution, which Henry had received before these troubles began, sufficiently put him out of the reach of their malice. It does not then seem, that any urgent reason of political prudence could induce him, in these circumstances, to act this part. Perhaps a sense of remorse for the occasion he had given to the murder of Becket may have been aggravated, and more forcibly imprest on his mind, by the affliction he felt, from the unnatural treason of his wife and sons, which he might consider as a punishment of that offence, and hope to remove it by inflicting on himself these voluntary pains, for which he had a precedent in his own family; Fulk the Third, earl of Anjou, having caused himself to be whipt through the streets of Jerusalem, and at the holy sepulchre there, as a penance for his sins. But this was the first instance of any *king* who had yielded to so ignominious a method of expiation, which debased the royal majesty in the eye of the publick; and

Henry's

V. Malmf-
bury, l. iii.
f. 55.

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1173.

Henry's suffering it before the tomb of Becket, with such marks of devotion to that pretended saint, was liable to constructions injurious to his honour and the rights of his kingdom. A much fitter atonement for the fault he bewailed had been made the year before, by advancing Becket's sister to the honourable dignity of abbess of Berking, a monastery of royal foundation. Such a kindness to his family was a worthy fruit of repentance: but this was either an act of the most odious hypocrisy, or most contemptible superstition, which, if it had not some excuse in the genius of that religion which was then established, and the fashion of the times, would deserve the highest blame, instead of those encomiums with which it has been recorded in some of the books of that age.

Neubrigen-
sis, l. iii. c.
34.

Henry had hardly recovered from the fever brought upon him by the rigour of his penance, when his sleep was disturbed, in the middle of the night, by the importunity of a page, who insisted upon being admitted to his presence at that unreasonable hour. Being therefore introduced, by the gentlemen of his bedchamber, to his bedside, he told him he was sent from Ranulph de Glanville to bring him good tidings. The king enquired kindly about the health of his master. He is well (answered the page); and holds your enemy, the king of Scotland, a captive in bonds, at the castle of Richmond in Yorkshire. Henry astonished, commanded him to repeat what he had said. He did so; after which the king demanded of him, whether he had brought him any letter? Whereupon he produced one, which contained the particulars of this great event. When the king had read it, he instantly leaped out of his bed, and shedding tears of joy and gratitude, with eyes and hands raised to heaven, gave thanks to God. Then he sent for all his friends who were near enough to be called, that he might make them

them partakers of the pleasure he felt from this very unexpected and most happy news. The particulars of it were these. The king of Scotland, blocking up the castle of Alnwick with his regular forces, sent all his irregulars to ravage the country. These devastations, for some time, were totally unresisted, because the English in those parts had no army that was able to keep the field; and the king of Scotland, who believed, that no reinforcements could soon be brought to their aid without his having notice of it, became so secure, that he suffered great detachments, even of his regular troops, to go and plunder the people round about Alnwick castle. One of these, under the conduct of Duncan earl of Fife, entered into the adjacent town of Warkworth, which they burned to the ground, and massacred all the inhabitants, men, women and children, not sparing even those who had taken sanctuary in the church. This raised to the highest pitch the resentment and hatred, which exasperated the people of all the northern counties against the Scottish nation, and William the Lion, their king, who seemed rather to encourage than restrain these excesses of barbarous cruelty, even in his disciplined troops. The Yorkshire barons, who, after the retreat of that monarch from the banks of the Tyne, had returned to their castles, upon hearing now that his forces were renewing their ravages of the Northumbrian lands, reassembled themselves under Ranulph de Glanville, the sheriff of their county, and forming a body of horse, in which were about four hundred knights, came into Newcastle, on the eleventh of July, after a long and hard march. There they learned in what manner the enemy's forces were separated and scattered; which intelligence giving them a reasonable hope of finding the king weakly guarded, they determined to set out very early the next morning, and endeavour to surprise

Ibidem
l. ii. c. 32,
33.

Benedict.
Abb. sub.
ann. 1174.

Neubrigensis,
l. iii. c. 33.

prize that part of his army which lay before Alnwick castle. The principal barons who joined in this spirited resolution with Ranulph de Glanville, were Robert de Stutevill, Bernard de Baliol, and William de Vesci. They began their march at break of day, and, though loaded with heavy armour, made such expedition, that, in less than five hours, they had travelled four and twenty computed miles from Newcastle. As they went, there arose so thick a fog, that they could hardly see their way. Whereupon some advised to return back to Newcastle: but, Bernard de Baliol declaring, that, rather than stain his character with the infamy of such a retreat, he would go forward alone, they all resolved to proceed. While they were advancing in darkness, the mist, which had covered and concealed their march, dispersing itself all at once, they saw before them in near view the castle of Alnwick, and soon afterwards the Scotch king, amidst a troop of between sixty and seventy horsemen, apprehending no danger, and diverting himself with the exercises of chivalry in an open plain. He took them, at first sight, for the detachment commanded by Duncan earl of Fife returning from Warkworth; but, on their nearer approach, discovering by their banners that they were English, he was amazed, yet not daunted. For he supposed, that some bands of the multitude of his forces, which were scouring the whole country on every side, would quickly come to his aid. In this confidence, or, perhaps, from the mere impulse of a rash, unthinking courage, fiercely shaking his spear, and saying to his men, *that now it would be seen who was a good knight*, he led them immediately to attack the enemy, and charged foremost himself: but, his horse being killed under him in the first shock, he was taken prisoner, and with him most of his troop. Some nobles, who were not engaged in the action, but were

Benedict.
Abb ad ann.
1174.

Neubrigen-
sis, l. ii. c.
33.

were within a small distance, hearing what had happened, came up, with all the haste they could make, and threw themselves into the hands of the English, that they might be partakers in the calamity of their sovereign. The victorious party returned, with the captives they had taken, and without encountering any other detachment of the enemy, that evening, to Newcastle; from which town, the next day, they removed the king of Scotland to the castle of Richmond. Among the other prisoners was Richard Cumin, the chancellor of that unfortunate prince. All the rest of his vast army, Scots, Galwegians, and Flemings, scattered over the country, retired precipitately into Scotland or Galloway, on the first account they received of his misfortune.

Benedict.
Abb. T. i. ad
ann. 1174.

Thus did Providence, in a most extraordinary manner, deliver up to King Henry, when he expected it least, this destroyer of his people, and principal abettor of the wicked rebellion against him in his family and his realm; an event which confounded all the hopes of his enemies, and broke at once all their measures!

Orders had been given, while the king was performing his pilgrimage to Becket's tomb, for the assembling of his army in the neighbourhood of London; and by the eighteenth of July, on which day he had the news of the king of Scotland's captivity, it was ready to act. He therefore would not lose time in idle and useless rejoicings, but put himself at their head, and advanced the same day towards Huntington castle, not doubting that the Scots, who were in garrison there, would presently yield it to him, when they should know he was master of their sovereign's person. It was accordingly surrendered on the twenty-first of July; though he granted them no conditions, except that they should not be liable to suffer in their lives or limbs. While they lay before this place, there

Benedict.
Abb. ut supra.

Girald.Cambrenf. par. ii. c. 3. in Anglia Sacra, p. 380. there came to him his son Geoffry, bishop of Lincoln, of whose exploits in his service an account has been given, and brought under his own banner a hundred and forty knights, with many more men at arms, well mounted and accoutred. Henry received him with great joy, and said, in the hearing of a great multitude of persons, who were present at their meeting, *that his other sons by their conduct had proved themselves bastards, but this alone had shewn himself to be really his true and legitimate son.*

Chron. Marl. ad ann. 1174. Neubrigent. l. ii. c. 36. David earl of Huntington, on advice of his brother's captivity, which came to him soon after that event, left the castle of Leicester, the garrison of which had received him as commander in chief of all the rebels in those parts, and retired into Scotland. Henry therefore did not stay in the midland counties of England to recover that castle; but marched from Huntington, with the utmost expedition, into Suffolk, against his more dangerous enemy, Hugh Bigot, whose excursions he before had endeavoured to restrain, by detaching the Brabanters to observe his motions.

Diceto Imag. Hist. Benedict. Abbas. Hoveden. Gervase, Brompton. Neubrigent. ad ann. 1174. The castles of Framlingham and Bungey were crowded with Flemings, whom the earl had received, besides the usual garrisons, into those forts; intending to act offensively with them in other parts of the kingdom; but the unexpected disaster of the king of Scotland, which by this time he knew, the consternation it caused among all his confederates, the quick surrender of Huntington castle to Henry, and the sudden approach of that monarch, at the head of a great army, disconcerted all the schemes he had hitherto formed, and almost took from him the means of maintaining any longer the cause he had engaged in, without drawing certain ruin upon his own head. For, though his castles were strong, particularly Framlingham,

lingham, yet the finding subsistence for such extraordinary numbers as were inclosed therein, if they should be closely blocked up, was a difficulty he knew could not be surmounted. He might also before now have received information, that, on the news of Henry's safe arrival in England, the young king and the earl of Flanders had laid aside their intention of invading England, and had led all their forces to join the king of France in besieging Rouen : so that he could not expect that assistance from them, on which he had chiefly depended. In these circumstances, he wished to make his peace with Henry, who had encamped not far distant from Framlingham castle, proposing to invest it the next day, and who, it may be presumed, upon application made to him, had granted him a safe conduct, in order to a personal treaty, and, perhaps, some assurances of a favourable reception. Certain it is that he went to this prince in his camp, and obtained from him a pardon, by delivering up his two castles, giving hostages to him for his future fidelity, and paying a fine of a thousand marks of silver. The only circumstance much contested between them was concerning the Flemings in those parts ; the earl insisting on their being permitted to return into Flanders with entire safety and freedom, which the king was unwilling to grant : but (not to neglect greater points in disputing long about this) he was satisfied with their oaths, that they would not serve against him during the rest of this war. Among these were some troops, which, a little before he came over, had been sent into England by his son, the young king, under Radulph de la Haie, an officer of distinction in the service of that prince.

The rebellion being thus suppressed in Suffolk, Henry went to his own royal castle at Northampton, where the captive king of Scotland was brought

brought to him from Yorkshire, with his feet tied, like a felon's, under the belly of his horse. It is not said that this great and indecent violation of the royal dignity in his person was ordered by Henry : but his having, without any declaration of war, or any act of hostility committed by the English, invaded their borders, and let loose the utmost fury of rapine and murder upon the innocent people, made them consider and treat him, not as a captive king, but as a robber and murderer apprehended by justice. How Henry received him, the historians of those times have given us no account : we only know that he caused him to be closely confined, which necessity of state abundantly justified ; and we may presume he did not use him ill in his prison, because it does not appear that after his enlargement he made any complaints, nor do the writers of that age who were most desirous to blame the conduct of Henry take notice of this among his faults.

Hoveden.
Benedict.
Abbas.
Gervale.
Brompton.
Diceto, ad
ann. 1174.

The earl of Leiceſter being likewise a priſoner to the king, and entirely at his mercy, the governors of his caſtles, not ſeeing the leaſt probability of ſetting him free by force of arms, and apprehending that their obſtinacy in defending thoſe places might be dangerous to his perſon, came to Northampton on the thirty-fiſt of July, and ſurrendered to Henry his three caſtles of Leiceſter, Montſorel, and Groby. The ſame day arrived meſſengers from Roger de Mowbray, who, after the action near Alnwick, had fled into Scotland, with full powers to yield up his caſtle of Thirſke ; and others from Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, imploring peace from the king on his ſurrendering the two caſtles of Tutbury and Duſfield, which the Welch, under the conduct of prince Rhees ap Gryffith, had beſieged for ſome time, but could not take. The biſhop of Durham came himſelf to Henry

Henry at Northampton, and gave up to him the forts of Durham, Norham, and Alverton, obtaining permission, though not without difficulty, to send away his nephew the earl of Bar, and a troop of forty French knights, whom he had lately received into Alverton castle, having before, upon hearing that the king of Scotland was taken, dismissed five hundred Flemings, whom the same lord had brought over. It did not appear very clearly that this prelate had designed to act for the rebels; because he pleaded that foreign and mercenary soldiers were necessary to guard his several castles, and the country round about them, against the Scots, whose numerous forces the ordinary garrisons would not have been able to resist, if the unexpected succour, conducted out of Yorkshire by Ranulph de Glanville, had not happily put an end to their depredations. As, therefore, his intentions could be only suspected, he ventured to wait on the king, whose displeasure or jealousy he had no doubt of removing, by making him master of these important fortresses, which were very sufficient sureties for his future fidelity. Some authors say, that the earl of Derby and Roger de Mowbray came likewise to the king. However this may have been, he pardoned them both, and having, no less by his mercy, than by the success which the Providence of God had given to his arms, composed the disturbances in all parts of his kingdom, he was able to give such attention to the safety of his foreign dominions, as the present conjuncture required. He therefore hastened to Portsmouth, where a navy was prepared to carry him over to Barfleur. On his journey he was met by the earls of Gloucester and Clare, whose loyalty had been suspected, and whose excuses he received, as more desirous to believe that they had not offended,

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.

Ibidem.
Gervase.
Brompton.
Diceto, ad
ann. 1174.

sended, than to punish their offences. But he did not think it proper to accept the surrender of the earl of Leicester's castles as a ransom for his person: nor would he leave either him or the earl of Chester in England, but ordered those two lords, the most distinguished promoters of the rebellion against him, and their principal confederate, the king of Scotland, to be carried into Normandy, in strict custody, with him. Eleanor and the young queen were left behind; England being for them a safer place of confinement.

On the seventh of August the king embarked at Portsmouth, and took with him his Brabanters, and a thousand Welsh. These last had been sent to him by David ap Owen, prince or king of North Wales. William of Newbury says he went over to Normandy with a great army, which would make one suppose that to these some English were added. On his landing at Barfleur he found there a great English prelate, whom he did not expect at this time.

Welsh
Chron. by
Dr. Powell,
and Hist. of
Wales, by
Wynne, ad
ann. 1174.
Benedict.
Abb. ad eun-
dem annum.
l. ii. c. 36.
Gervase, ad
ann. 1174.

Gervase,
col. 1428.
ad ann.
1173.

After long delays from the obstinacy of the prior and monks of Christ church convent in Canterbury, concerning the election of a successor to Becket, they had, in February of the year eleven hundred and seventy-three, nominated, in their own chapter, without other assistants, three persons, and sent their names to the grand justiciary, Richard de Lucy, desiring him to give the royal assent to the election of any one of these, whom the king should most approve. Richard summoned hereupon the bishops of the province, who joined with the monks in electing the abbot of Beck in Normandy, a man who was very agreeable to the king; and the royal assent was given to that choice: but it proved ineffectual; for the abbot pertinaciously refused to accept the primacy offered to him, and Henry was therefore constrained, much against his owned wishes, to order a new election.

election. The convent of Canterbury hereupon resumed their desire of confining to themselves the choice of a primate and chusing him from their own body. A warm contest arising on these points between them and the bishops of the province, and all terms of accommodation proposed by the latter being obstinately rejected, Richard, prior of Dover, who had been a monk in that convent, and another of the same body, were sent into Normandy to negotiate with Henry, and know his will on this business. That prince did not give them any positive answer; but ordered them back into England, and sent private instructions to the regents of that kingdom, that, if the convent of Canterbury should continue inflexible in their resolution, they should so manage matters as to turn the election upon the prior of Dover. This intrigue was conducted with great address by the regents, and on the third day of June in the year eleven hundred and seventy-three, the prior was elected: but, before his consecration, a letter was sent to the monks from the young king of England, then in France, by which he signified to them, "that he had been informed, his father
 " was attempting to place improper persons in the
 " see of Canterbury and in others: wherefore,
 " *because such elections ought not to be made with-*
 " *out consent from him, who, by virtue of the royal*
 " *unction which he had received, had taken upon*
 " *himself the rule and care of the whole kingdom,*
 " he had appealed against them to the see of
 " Rome, and had notified that appeal to the car-
 " dinals Albert and Theodine, who had approved
 " thereof." In this letter he evidently arrogated to himself an equality with his father in the government of the realm, if not an entire sovereignty over it, as the words there used may import. The subjects therefore of that king could pay no regard to it, without violating the allegiance they owed

owed to him, in whom the regal power was understood to remain supreme and undiminished, notwithstanding the ceremony of his son's coronation. But the appeal made to Rome, of which notice had been given to the bishops of London, of Exeter, and of Worcester, as well as to these monks, induced them and the other suffragans of the province of Canterbury to defer the consecration of the archbishop elect, until the pope's decision should be known: and that prelate was obliged to go and solicit this affair at Rome; nor could Henry forbid it in his present situation, though the question was purely of a political nature, and such as ought not to have been ever submitted to the papal authority. After some dispute, the election was confirmed by Alexander, who, when he found that the quarrel betwixt the two Henries could not, by any power of his mediation, be amicably composed, took part with the father (as it became him to do) against the son, and not only consecrated the archbishop of Canterbury with his own hands, but also graced him with the additional dignity of his legate in England. Henry now met him on the coast of Normandy returning to that realm, and dined with him at his inn, from whence, in the afternoon, he dismissed him to prosecute his intended voyage, while he himself went to Caen. In the castle of that city he left his royal captive, and the two rebel earls whom he had brought over with him, under strict confinement, and marched from thence, through a country he was entirely master of, to Rouen, which had been besieged by the French from the twenty-first day of July, and afterwards by them and the Flemish army combined.

Gervase, col.
1426, 1427.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1174.

Neubri-
genfis,
l. ii. c. 25.
Diceto, ad
ann. 1174.

To the north-eastern side of this metropolis of Normandy a passage had been opened, the year before, by the Flemings, who then had taken Aumale, Neuchâtel, and Driencourt, fortresses situated

situated on the Norman confines towards Picardy and the Somme. The road from this frontier, especially near to Rouen, was narrow and difficult, being skirted with hills and thick woods. Yet it was the only one which an enemy could take to approach it; because the whole country to the South of the Seine, which was open and level, and all the passes of the hills on other sides of the city, except on that before-mentioned, were in Henry's possession. The bridge over the Seine, which the Empress Matilda had built, afforded a communication for the importation of victuals, or other supplies of all kinds; and the city, which covered a great extent of ground, was defended on that side by the depth and breadth of the river, and in all parts by deep ditches, and very thick walls flanked with towers. Almost all the Norman Barons, and military tenants who held immediately of the king, had thrown themselves into it, upon the first motions of the French to attack it, with a firm resolution to maintain it against them to the utmost extremity: nor did the citizens, who were numerous and well trained to arms, shew themselves less courageous than the nobles and soldiers, or less determined to support their sovereign's cause. After the junction of the Flemish troops with the French, which made them a greater army than Europe had seen since the time of the last crusade, they proposed to take the town, which they only could attack on one quarter, by wearying out the besieged with continual toil: To this intent they divided the multitude of their forces into three partitions, which relieved each other by turns once in every eight hours; so that the attacks were incessant, and the battering engines employed with unremitting violence all day and all night. Nevertheless the besieged, procuring to themselves the same intervals of repose, by a similar division of their forces

Benedict.
Abb. ad ann.
1174.

Neubrigen-
sis, l.ii.c.25.
Diceto, ad
ann. 1174.

(which their having only one part of the city to defend, enabled them to make), resisted and frustrated all attempts of the enemy, from the twenty-first of July, when the French sat down before Rouen, until the feast of St. Lawrence on the tenth of August, before which day the captivity of the king of Scotland being known in the French and Flemish camps, it struck a damp to the hearts of the confederate army. The king of France, who profess a particular veneration for the holy martyr Lawrence, proclaimed, on the eve of his feast, a suspension of arms, as was usually done in that age. The citizens also observed it with an equal regard to religion, but with a more riotous and more triumphant joy : the youths and virgins sung and danced, and the men at arms, issuing forth from the southern gate of the city, diverted themselves with tilting upon the banks of the Seine, not only in honour of the saint, but as an insult on the enemy, who beheld them from their post on the other side of the river. While these sports were going on, towards the close of the day, it happened that some priests went up into the tower or steeple of a church, where the alarm-bell was hung ; and one of them looking out of the window of the tower, which commanded a full prospect into the enemy's camp, was amazed at the extraordinary quiet and silence which he observed therein ; and this raising some suspicion of a secret design against the town, he carefully watched all their motions, until he perceived that preparations were evidently making for an assault. He then called his companions, who immediately rung the bell ; at the sound of which, all the citizens, hastily snatching their arms, ran together to the walls ; and the horsemen returning, with the utmost speed of their horses, into the town, resumed their posts. Some moments more of delay would probably have

have occasioned the loss of the city : for the enemy's troops, drawn together by private orders from their chiefs, without sound of trumpet, or any other loud signal, had already past the ditch, and the foremost rank of them, unopposed, had by scaling ladders mounted to the top of the wall ; but in that very instant the brave citizens met them, and fighting hand to hand, killed, or threw down headlong into the ditch, those who had first gained the rampart : yet more continually mounting, a bloody conflict ensued ; until night forced the assailants, whose loss of men was far greater than that of the besieged, to retire to their camp.

Louis cast all the blame of this perfidious proceeding on the earl of Flanders ; but whether he acted against his own inclinations by the advice of that prince (as some historians suppose), or whether, doubting of success by any other means, he had recourse to this fraud, his reputation suffered much, and the more, as his conscience had been thought to be stricter in matters of religion than in points of honour. The next day Henry came up, and passing the Seine by the bridge, at the head of his army, made his entry into Rouen in great military pomp, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people of that city, and triumphant shouts of the soldiers, by whose valour it had been so well defended. His sudden arrival, before any intelligence of his landing in Normandy had been brought to the enemy, whom the ill success of their late unjustifiable attempt had not a little dejected, astonished and threw them into such a despondency, that they seemed to have lost all their courage. He, on the contrary, full of confidence in the bravery of his troops, commanded the gate next to the enemy's camp, which the citizens had walled up, to be opened, and so much of the ditch on that side to be filled up and levelled, as that his cavalry might pass over it two

Neubrigensis, l. ii. c. 35

Neubrigensis, ut supra. Brompton, col. 1097.

Benedict. Abb. Hoveden, ad ann. 1174.

Brompton,
ut *suprà*.

Neubrigenf.
L. ii. c. 36.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden,
ad ann.
1174.

Brompton,
col. 1098.
Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 86.

hundred in front. While this was doing, his Welsh foot, whom he had sent out, a little before day-break, into a forest, with orders to wait, under cover of the woods, for a convoy of forty waggons, loaded with wine and with victuals, which he knew was expected that morning from France, by the road of Neuchâtel, performed their business so well, that, bursting suddenly from their ambush on the skirt of the forest, they destroyed the whole convoy, after having put to flight a body of cavalry, by which it was escorted. The confederates were two days in great want of provisions, before the end of which time the king of France and the earl of Flanders determined with all speed to raise the siege, not only on account of the present distress, but from a report which prevailed, that the Welsh so infested all the woods near the city, as to hinder any supplies being brought to it with safety. On the thirteenth of August they ordered the whole train of their battering engines, which had cost them vast sums, to be broken to pieces or burnt, that they might be no impediment to their retreat: during which Henry sallied from the gate he had opened, at the head of his cavalry, to make an attack on the quarters of the king of France, hoping (as it seems) to have found the French unprepared: but on his approach a strong body of their horse came forth, having been ordered by Louis, from a prudent apprehension of such an assault, or intelligence given of it, to be ready in arms before his camp. The conflict was sharp: on the side of the French some knights were taken prisoners, and some wounded, and twenty horsemen of an inferior degree were killed: but Henry, who had counted on surprising the enemy, finding himself disappointed in that expectation, thought proper to retire, lest more troops should come up from other

other parts of the camp. What loss he sustained we are not told; but, as no notice is taken of it by those who mention this action, it probably must have been small.

The next day the confederates made their retreat in good order, having first sent away all their sick and wounded men. The earl of Flanders, who was thought the ablest general among them, commanded the rear. Henry did not pursue them; the forces he had with him there, though sufficient to secure his principal object, the defence of the town, not being able to face so superior an army in the open field: but a great number of arms, and some parts of their heavy baggage, were left a booty to his Welsh and other irregular troops. Diceto, ad ann. 1174.

Thus, with no small dishonour to the confederate princes, on the twenty-fourth day of August in the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, was Rouen delivered from a siege, which to carry on with success, the utmost efforts of France, and the two powerful earldoms of Flanders and Boulogne, had been exerted in vain. The next morning the earl of Blois, and the archbishop of Sens, came thither as ambassadors from the king of France, with overtures of a peace, and obtained of Henry that a conference between him and that monarch should be held at Gisors on the eighth of the ensuing September, for settling the conditions.

All the confederates, even those who had been the incendiaries of the war, now desired to end it; every enterprise they had formed, with confident hopes of success from an apparent and great superiority of strength, having been strangely defeated, by such a series of accidents favourable to Henry, that the immediate hand of God seemed to shew itself in supporting and maintaining his cause. The earl of Flanders, whose conscience had been sharply stung the last year, upon the death of his brother, Neubrigensis, c. 37. l. ii.
Diceto, col. 582. ad ann. 1174.

Benedict.
Abb.
T. i. p. 56.

brother, Matthew earl of Boulogne, with a sense of his own guilt in this unnatural quarrel, was now struck with a greater dread of the vengeance impending on perseverance in that guilt. For, his youngest brother, named Peter, who, after the loss of the elder, had, at his entreaty, resigned the arch-bishoprick of Cambray for the earldom of Boulogne, was dangerously wounded at the siege of Rouen, which more afflicted this prince, as, having no child himself, and not expecting to have any, he intended to make him his heir in the earldom of Flanders and all his other dominions. It was therefore his wish to extinguish these destructive fires of discord, which he feared would at length consume all those who had either kindled or fed them for the purposes of their own unjustifiable ambition. The only doubt was, whether Henry should consent to make a peace, when his revenge and his glory seemed equally to demand the continuance of the war against enemies disappointed in all their undertakings. But no advantage which triumphs over them could give, was of so much importance to the happiness of his life, or the welfare of his realm, as recovering his children out of their hands, and reclaiming them from the errors into which their inexperienced youth had been drawn, by having them again under his own tuition. It was also evident, that the friendship and favour of the pope, very necessary to him in the present conjuncture, might be lost by his making an offensive war against Louis, from ambitious or vindictive views alone, when that king, to whom Alexander owed much regard, no longer abetted the revolt of his sons, for the suppressing of which, and not for the enlarging of the bounds of his empire, he had asked assistance from Rome. Nor could he be sure that those princes, whose great forces he had baffled, but not subdued, might not defend their own territories

ritories with more spirit and fortune than they had attacked his, if compelled to exert the utmost stretch of their power, for self-preservation. He therefore came with such moderate and pacifick dispositions to a conference with Louis, that the suspension of arms between him and all the confederates, except his son Richard, was prolonged from the eighth to the twenty-ninth of September, on which day another conference was appointed to be held, for the final conclusion of the peace then agreed to, at a place between Tours and Amboise. In the mean time, permission was given to Henry to make war against Richard, who, having gained the possession of certain castles in Poitou while the French besieged Rouen, singly refused to accept the conditions proposed. The other confederates swore that they would not assist him, and strictly observed their engagement; so that helpless, and flying, with a few of his barons, from one retreat to another, as Henry approached with his army, he was soon constrained, notwithstanding the stubborn pride of his mind and the intrepidity of his heart, to submit without reserve to the mercy of that king. On the twenty-first of September he threw himself weeping at the feet of his father, and implored his forgiveness. Henry raised him from the earth, and took him to his bosom, with the kindest marks of paternal tenderness and affection. They went together to the place appointed for the conference with the king of France, at which likewise were present the two brothers of Richard, Henry and Geoffry Plantagenet, and all the greater vassals of the French crown, except the earl of Flanders.

It was there agreed, that the princes, Henry, Richard, and Geoffry, should return to their father, and to the obedience they owed to him as their sovereign, being freed themselves, and freeing all his barons and vassals engaged with them in rebellion,

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1174.

Hoveden,
pars ii. ac
ann. 1174.

V. Rymer's
Foedera, p.
37.
See it also
in the Ap-
pendix to
this book.

rebellion, from all oaths or covenants by which they had been bound against their allegiance, to which, and, to their homage, the said barons and vassals, thus absolved, should return. A restitution of lands and castles, as they had been held fifteen days before the rebellion, was to be made on both sides. Henry the elder bound himself to remit his displeasure against the barons who had fallen off from him, so as to do them no hurt on that account, while they should continue to serve him faithfully as their liege lord. In like manner the young Henry remitted his displeasure against all those, as well of the clergy as of the laity, who had taken part with his father; and gave his oath to that prince, that he would do them no hurt either in their persons or goods, nor procure any to be done to them on that account, so long as he should live. Two castles in Normandy, at the choice of his father, and a yearly revenue of fifteen thousand pounds in Angevin money, were to be given to him; and to Richard two places, fit for his reception, in the province of Poitou, but such as would not enable him to do his father any mischief, with half the revenues of that province in money. Half of those which Geoffry claimed to enjoy in Bretagne, by virtue of the marriage agreed upon between him and the daughter of Conan, were granted to him in present, and the rest was promised, as soon as, conformably to the will of her father, that marriage should be celebrated, with the consent of the pope. The prisoners who had made a composition with the king before the peace, namely the king of Scotland and the earls of Leicester and of Chester, and Radulph de Fougères, with the hostages they had given, and those of other captives which the king had before received, were not to be included in the present convention. All other prisoners on both sides were to be
set

set at liberty; but the king was impowered to take hostages, at his will, from those who were able to give them, and from others the security of their own oaths, and the oaths of their friends. The castles in the king's territories, which had been fortified or repaired since the beginning of the war, were to be put, at his pleasure, into the state they were in before the war. The young Henry, on his part, engaged himself to his father, that he would confirm and establish all the grants of crown lands which his father had made or should make for charitable uses, or to his vassals for their services performed to him; and particularly that which he had made to prince John, his youngest son, consisting of three thousand pounds per annum in England, Normandy, and Anjou; of two castles in England with all their appurtenances, two in Normandy, one in Anjou, one in Maine, and one in Touraine. The king, out of affection to his eldest son Henry (as the words of the treaty express it) remitted to those who, in any of his territories, had gone from him to that prince, the forfeitures they had incurred, and permitted them to return in peace, without being answerable for the goods or chattels they had carried off with them; but for murder, treason, or maiming, they were to answer according to the law and custom of the realm. As for those who had fled for any offence before the war, and come into the service of his son, he likewise allowed them to return in peace, giving pledges to stand to the judgment of the law concerning such matters, antecedent to the war, as should be laid to their charge. Those who had been impleaded before they went to his son might return, but their causes were to be in the same situation as before their departure.

The

The young King Henry gave security to his father, that he, on his part, would firmly keep this convention ; and it was also given jointly by him and his two brothers, that they would never, against their father's will and good pleasure, demand of him more than he had now granted to them, as here prescribed and determined, nor ever withdraw from him their persons or their services. Richard and Geoffry did him homage for what he had granted to them ; and his eldest son, Henry, would likewise have done it ; but on account of the royal dignity conferred on that prince, he refused to receive it, only taking from him sureties.

This homage was not offered for the kingdom of England ; the royal dignity of this prince, though subordinate to his father's, being not of a feudal nature ; but it was on account of the territories in France given to him by his father, whose superiority in those fiefs he would thus have acknowledged ; as his brothers had done in theirs ; concerning which I shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter.

Neither Louis nor the earls of Flanders and Boulogne are named in this convention ; because, having taken arms as auxiliaries to Henry's sons in the war, they had nothing to settle with him, except what related to the compacts with those princes, which this convention annulled ; and because he desired that the favours, conferred thereby on his sons, and the pardon granted to his rebellious subjects, should not appear to have been gained through any intervention of foreign powers, but should be received as effects of his own free grace.

The lands and castles, which the earl of Flanders had taken in Normandy, and held, not for himself, but for his confederate, the young king of England, were among the restitutions here agreed

agreed to be made. On the other side, in pursuance of the above recited convention, no fewer than nine hundred and sixty-nine captive knights were freed by Henry without ransom : nor of those prisoners who were excluded from the benefit of that treaty was any one put to death, or condemned to suffer in his limbs, his liberty, or his fortune : an instance of mercy, to which no parallel can be found in the whole history of mankind !

The question is, whether it did not extend too far ? because, though the youth of the three offending princes excused their guilt, and natural affection pleaded for them in the heart of their father, yet those, by whose counsels they were instigated to such an atrocious rebellion, might well have been thought proper victims to the justice of the crown, for the safety of the king, and tranquillity of the kingdom. But Henry considered, that if he punished these traitors with the rigour due to their crime, all his most faithful subjects, who had served him best in this war, would be exposed, at his death, to the vengeance of his successor, and of his two younger sons, in their respective dominions. Even during his life many accidents might put it in the power of those princes, if provoked by severities against their adherents, to revenge themselves in this manner. He therefore generously preferred the future security of his friends to the many reasons of policy which might otherwise have opposed so unlimited a pardon, and to his own just resentments. When this resolution was taken, which necessarily obliged him to spare the most guilty, he could not equitably proceed with more severity against those who less deserved his displeasure.

As for Queen Eleanor, it appears, that he did not suffer her name to be mentioned in this treaty ; but kept her in prison at his own discretion. Yet,
provoked

provoked as he was, he felt that she also had received some provocations from his infidelity to her bed, and would not call her to a strict account of her conduct, nor subject her (as it was in his power to do, and as a prince of less humanity, thus offended, would have done) to the rigour of the laws against high treason.

In his proceedings with the captive king of Scotland, the same spirit of lenity directed his counsels, but not without that regard to the interests of his kingdom, which policy seemed to demand, and justice certainly authorised, as things then stood. The most natural and most reasonable object of ambition for a great king of England must have been the subjecting to the sovereignty of his crown the whole island of Britain. A fair opportunity now presented itself to obtain that advantage with the consent of the Scots, by making it the price of the liberty of their sovereign, who was abandoned by all his confederates and allies; who, as a vassal to Henry for some territories held by fealty and homage, was guilty of high treason; whose life was in the power of that offended monarch, and whose kingdom was in great and imminent danger of being destroyed by his superior forces, with the concurrence of its own rebellious subjects, the savage Galwegians. For these barbarians, who had done so much mischief in England under the orders of William, before his misfortune, had now revolted against him, had expelled all his officers out of their country, had taken and destroyed all his castles and fortresses there, and put the garrisons to the sword. Scotland itself was a scene of anarchy and of blood; the Scotch army, in returning out of Northumberland, having massacred all the English who served among them or dwelled within their borders. Of these the number was great; for we are told by a good contemporary historian, that the towns and burghs of the Lowlands

Benedict.

Abb.

t. i. p. 77.

adamo. 1174.

Neubrigen-
us, l. ii. c. 34.

Ibidem.

Lowlands were chiefly inhabited by men of that nation, whom the kings of Scotland had drawn thither and settled therein, under their special protection. A national hatred against them, which the royal authority had restrained, being now freed from that curb, broke forth with such fury, that none escaped from it, except those who had the fortune to get into some castle, or fortified city, belonging to the crown. In this distracted condition the kingdom appeared incapable of defence, if Henry should attack it, after all his other enemies were entirely subdued. To redeem therefore themselves and the whole state from ruin, as well as their sovereign from captivity, the Scotch nobles and prelates were willing to give up the ancient independence of the crown of Scotland, and subject it to that of England, which Henry required, as the sole condition of peace. Many of these were admitted to confer with their king in the castle of Falaise, to which he had been removed from that of Caen; and a great council of them assembled, on the eighth of December, at Valogne in the Cotentin, a province of Normandy, where they advised him to conclude a final agreement with Henry on the terms before settled between him and that prince. This was executed in a subsequent meeting of both kings, at the castle of Falaise, as appears by a written declaration made there, which notifies that liege homage, without any reserve or exception, had been done to Henry, king of England, by William, king of Scotland, *for that kingdom*, and for all his other dominions; William having, at the same time, sworn fealty to Henry, as to his liege lord, in like manner as other vassals use to do to their prince: and that homage had also been done and fealty sworn by William to the young king of England, saving the fealty due to the king his father. It was further agreed, that all the bishops, abbots,

*Diceto, ad
ann. 1174-
col. 384.*

*Rymer's
Fœdera.
See also the
Appendix to
this Book.*

abbots, and others of the clergy, in the territories of the king of Scotland, from whom Henry should desire to receive liege homage, should do it to him in such manner as it was usually done by other bishops to their prince, and likewise to the king his son, and the heirs of both. Moreover, the king of Scotland, and David, his brother, and the earls and barons of Scotland, and other vassals of that king, granted to Henry, their lord, that the church of Scotland should thenceforward pay that subjection to the Church of England which was due to it, and had been usually paid in the times of his royal predecessors: to which concessions some Scotch prelates, who were then present, agreed, and the absent clergy of that nation were bound to agree, in virtue of this convention. Liege homage was to be done and fealty sworn to Henry, without reserve or exception, by all the earls and barons of the territories of the king of Scotland, from whom Henry should desire it, in the same manner as by his other vassals; and also to his son, the young king, and to the heirs of that prince, saving the fealty due to his father. The heirs of the king of Scotland, and the heirs of his earls, barons, and tenants in chief, were likewise obliged to render liege homage to the heirs of the king of England. Fugitives from England for felony were not to be harboured in Scotland, but to be delivered up to the king's officers of justice, unless they would return to take their trial in his court: but fugitives from Scotland for the like offence might be tried in the court of either king, and, refusing to stand to the judgment of either, were to be delivered to the officers of the king of Scotland. The vassals of each king were to enjoy the lands which they held, or claimed to hold, under the other. As a security for the entire performance of all these articles, it was agreed that the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh,

Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Sterling, should be delivered to Henry by the king of Scotland, and this prince was to bear the charge of their custody, as rated by Henry. He also gave to that king his brother David, as a hostage for the delivery of the castles, and twenty more of the chief nobility of his realm, among whom were his constable, his chancellor, and four earls; but Henry permitted them all, except the king's brother, to substitute their sons, or next heirs, instead of their own persons, as hostages to him; and when the castles should be put into his hands, these were to be freed, together with the king and his brother. Security was given to Henry by the king and his barons there present, that they would do all in their power to procure from those who were absent the same acknowledgments of his sovereignty as he had received from themselves. It was also stipulated that hostages should be delivered to him by those of the absent vassals of William, from whom he should choose to demand them. And the bishops, earls, barons, and other vassals of William, engaged themselves to Henry, and to the young king his son, that, if William, upon any pretence whatsoever, should recede from this convention and from his fealty, to those princes, they would stand by Henry, as their liege lord, against him and against all the enemies of that king; and the bishops would put the territories of William under an interdict, until he should return to his fealty. Among the witnesses to this declaration were the two princes, Richard and Geoffry Plantagenet.

The feudal subjection of Scotland to the crown of England being thus settled and secured, the whole attention of Henry was employed for some time on his affairs in France. The demolition of the castles built or fortified by the rebels in his territories there was his first object, being of no

small

Benedict.
Abb.
t. i. p. 94.
95, 96. ad
ann. 1175.

small importance to the future obedience and tranquillity of those countries. In Anjou, he himself supervised the execution of this part of the agreement he had made with his sons; but in Poitou and Bretagne he committed it to Richard and Geoffry Plantagenet, that he might appear to confide in their return to their duty, and that he might make them his ministers in reducing the power of the lords of those castles, by whom they had been aided in their revolt against him. At the same time, he took care, that his own fortresses in those parts should be put into a better state of defence, and strongly garrisoned with such men as he could trust. On the feast of St. Matthew, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, he and his eldest son had an amicable conference with the king of France at Gisors, where, intending soon afterwards to return into England, they took leave of that prince; but, Henry finding it necessary to go first into Anjou, his son was left at Rouen, where several messengers came to him from Louis, exhorting him not to venture to go into England with the king, his father, who, as soon as he should have him in his power there, would confine him in a prison. This suspicion was grounded on some things he had done offensive to his father since the reconciliation, and on that monarch's refusal to accept his homage, as well as that of his brothers. So much was he terrified by these repeated advices, that, when his father returned from Anjou into Normandy, and sent orders to him to come to Caen, from whence they were to go and take shipping at Barfleur for their voyage to England, he refused to obey.

Henry, informed of the reasons which produced this reluctance, assured him, by many gracious messages to him, that he had nothing to fear. Thus encouraged, and desiring, by extraordinary
acts

Ibidem.

V. Diceto
Imag. Hist.
col. 586. ad
ann. 1175.
Benedict.
Abb. ut su-
gra.

acts of humiliation, to convince his father of the truth of his repentance, he went to him at the castle of Bure near Caen, and throwing himself at his feet, in the presence of many nobles of Normandy and of England, with a great effusion of tears, implored his forgiveness of all he had done to offend him, before the war, in the war, or after the war, and most earnestly begged, that, as his father and lord, he would receive from him homage and an oath of allegiance; adding, that until he permitted him, as he had done his two brothers, at their humble request, to give him these pledges of future loyalty, he should never believe his indignation against him entirely removed.

Henry, touched with this mark of his filial piety and contrition, assented to his desire; and thereupon he did homage, and not only took the oath of allegiance, but swore that he would be guided, in the whole ordering of his household and all his other affairs, by the counsels of his father, *and, as long as he lived, would do no harm to those vassals, who had served his father in this war, on account of that service, but would honour and promote them, as men who had been faithful, both to that king and to him.* For the performance of these spontaneous promises, the Archbishop of Rouen, William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, and other barons there present, took on themselves to be sureties; and he proposed to add to them the king of France, the earl of Flanders, the earls of Champagne and of Blois, his brothers, Richard and Geoffry, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and all the other spiritual and temporal lords, on both sides of the channel, under this condition, that, in case of his violating the above-mentioned engagements, they should unanimously stand by his father against him, and give him no aid, nor advice, except to exhort him to return to his father.

From all this it appears, that much distrust had attended their former reconciliation, particularly with relation to that great point, which Henry had most at heart, the security of his friends from the vengeance of his son, when he himself should be no more : but, all jealousy being now removed on both sides, he sent him to Louis, in order to satisfy that king, his father-in-law, that he would be in no danger by going to England, and that confidence would henceforth be perfectly re-established between the English and French courts.

On his return from this visit, he and his father celebrated, in happy concord, together, the festival of Easter, at Cherbourg, and afterwards went to Caen, where the earl of Flanders desired an interview with them.

Diceto, col.
385.
Benedict.
Abb. adann.
1175.

This prince, whose mind was agitated with a tormenting remorse, on account of the war he had made against Henry, in order to expiate that crime, and atone for the blood of many of his own subjects unjustly spilt in his quarrel, had taken the cross on Good Friday, and proposed to set out, at the beginning of summer, on his journey to the Holy Land, accompanied by his brother, (whose wound was now healed) and by many of his subjects ; but he thought it necessary first to wait upon Henry, and renew with him that league of friendship and alliance, which his conscience reproached him, for having perfidiously and ungratefully broken. In this meeting, he gave up to Henry the charter, containing a grant of the royal castle of Dover and the earldom of Kent, most imprudently made to him by the young king of England, and released that prince from his oath to fulfil this engagement : in return for which the two kings confirmed to him the subsidy they had formerly granted by the treaty

Hoveden,
ad. ann.
1173.
et Autore
citat. ut
suprà.

treaty of the year eleven hundred and sixty-seven. This being done, they went from Caen to Barfleur, and, embarking there, sailed to Portsmouth, where, to the infinite joy of all their good subjects, they landed together on the ninth of May, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, and, for some time afterwards, dined together, every day, at the same table, and lay, every night, in the same bed. Diceto, col. 585.

On the eighteenth of May, the archbishop of Canterbury convened, with their consent, a synod of the prelates and clergy of his province, which made several canons; the most important of which I shall mention hereafter, in treating particularly of ecclesiastical matters. They were confirmed in a parliament assembled at Westminster on the twentieth of May, to which was read, in the presence of the royal father and son, a notification of what had passed at Bure between those two princes, which had been sent into England by a letter from Henry presently after that meeting; and, on the same day, all the spiritual and temporal barons became sureties for his son, that he should perform all the promises made at that time: so careful was Henry to bind those covenants on this prince as firmly as he could, and so desirous to publish and authenticate a transaction, every article of which he thought of great moment to the peace of the realm!

From London, the two kings went to Canterbury on a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb. The coincidence of the king of Scotland's captivity with the time when penance had been publicly done, in that place, by Henry the elder, had exceedingly raised the credit of this new saint, to whose powerful intercession that unhoped-for event was generally ascribed. The monks said, *that the friendship between the favourite and the monarch*

Gervase & Benedict. Abb. ad ann. 1175.

Diceto, col. 586. See it also in the Appendix to this book.

Gervase,
Chron.
ad ann.
1175.

was renewed, and that Becket was become the tutelary saint of his penitent master. Henry deemed it expedient to countenance this opinion, and therefore chose to return his thanks to God, for the happy end of the war, at the sepulchre of that prelate: which having performed, he returned to the affairs of his kingdom.

Benedict.
Abb.
ad ann.
1175.

During the course of this year, many castles belonging to the rebel barons in England were levelled to the ground or dismantled; and the tower of Bristol, from which, during the late civil war, the earl of Gloucester had expelled a garrison of the king, to put it into the custody of his own vassals, was restored to the crown by that lord, who thus stopped the proceedings commenced against him by Henry, to recover the right which he, it seems, had disputed.

Thus ended this rebellion, the first and last ever raised in the kingdom of England without some dispute on the title of the king to the crown, or some difference of religion, or the pretence of some grievance injurious to particulars or hurtful to the publick. Yet, ill-founded as it was, it shook the throne! But Divine Providence so assisted the rightful cause of the king, that his enemies fell before him almost without human means, and their malice only served to make his virtues more conspicuous, and his power more extensive. The worst effect of the war was the emptying of his coffers; and, there being no confiscations to repair this loss, he took a method of doing it, consistent indeed with the amnesty he had granted, but not, I think, with his honour. Great destruction had been made of the game in his forests, during the late troubles; not only the rebels, but all who bordered thereupon, having hunted therein, without restraint. For this offence, he now called almost all the nobility, and many of all the inferior orders of men, to a strict

Benedict.
Abb. T. i.
p. 112.

strict account in his court. They pleaded a general liberty granted, in the disorder of those times, by the regent of the kingdom, to hunt in the king's forests. Such an indulgence much exceeded the favour which Henry had really done to his people, by having, from the first beginning of his reign, so relaxed the severity of the forest laws, that no offences against them were punished, as before, by loss of life or of members, but only by amerciaments. It was enough to adhere to that humane mitigation, with some abatement of the mulcts: nor could it easily be supposed that his fondness for hunting, which was one of his strongest passions, would permit him to do more. Nevertheless, some contemporary writers affirm, that Richard de Lucy, the regent, in his own justification, and in defence of all those to whom he had given so extraordinary a licence, produced to Henry an order, sent to him by that monarch during the rebellion, which commanded him to throw open all the forests in England, and suffer the deer to be taken. They add too, that he was ordered to destroy the royal fish-ponds, and give the people the fish. It is more credible, that he thought it was prudent to wink at the violation of the laws for preserving the king's game, while the safety of the realm itself was at stake; and that in those circumstances Henry had approved of his conduct: but such a connivance laid no restraint on that prince from prosecuting those who had trespassed in this manner, at any other time, if he should incline so to do. Yet he would have acted more suitably to the generosity and magnanimity of his former proceedings, if, forbidding the continuance of this licentiousness for the future, he had forgiven the past, and not disturbed, by the general vexation and terror of these unexpected prosecutions, the tranquillity

Benedict.
Abb.
ut supra.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1175.

tranquillity of his kingdom, which in greater matters he had done so much to establish. He did not, indeed, violate his act of grace to the rebels, by bringing against them this charge, because it did not relate to the treasons there pardoned, and because he proceeded with equal severity against many loyal subjects, accused of the same offence. But these, whose fidelity had entitled them to all the favour of the crown, thought their services ill requited, when they found themselves thus confounded, as delinquents against it, with the most notorious traitors; and much of the gratitude, which the clemency shewn to the latter would have naturally produced, was lost by their suffering disquiet and damage for lighter misdemeanors. The method of proceeding was also extremely odious, if we may believe an historian of considerable authority who lived in those times; it being carried on (as he says) by a general inquisition made upon oath, before the king or his justices, and *bearsay* evidence being taken. Even making some allowances for exaggerated reports, it must still appear an ill-judged, impolitical act: and, supposing it done notwithstanding a permission accorded by Henry, it would deserve a worse censure; as there can be nothing more dishonourable to the character of a king, than laying snares for his subjects, to extort money from them, and turning the laws into engines of oppression. Henry was not without fear of some danger to his person from the resentment it caused, or from other grounds of suspicion, not so publicly known: for, in a council which he held, about Midsummer, at Woodstock, he issued a proclamation forbidding all who had joined in the rebellion against him, to come to his court or great council, unless particularly summoned; and, likewise ordered, that none should stay in his court after

Diceto.

Benedict.
Abb.

after sun-set, or come into it before sun-rising, or go armed with bows and arrows, or sharp-pointed knives, in any part of the realm on the English side of the Severn. But these ordinances did not long remain in force.

While the king was at Woodstock, four knights, accused of having murdered one of his foresters, and some accomplices in their crime, were brought prisoners to him, and soon afterwards were condemned and hanged at Litchfield. One may presume, that the cause of their committing this outrage was, the forester's opposition to that liberty of hunting in the king's woods, so generally taken for some time past.

On the twenty-ninth day of June, the king and Henry his son held at Gloucester a great council, for the settling of the peace of South Wales, and the borders.

The commotions occasioned by taking from Jorwerth Caerleon upon Uske, and by one of his sons having been killed by the English in the manner before related, had been effectually stopt, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, by the commission of chief Justice over all South Wales, which Rhees ap Gryffyth had then received from Henry, and which he exercised with great prudence and with a laudable fidelity towards that prince. But, when he was drawn away, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, to serve in England against the earl of Derby, Caerleon upon Uske, which the English had rebuilt, was retaken by Jorwerth; and the castle, which, for want of battering engines, he could not take, was also yielded to him, in exchange for the prisoners he had made in the town. Yet, the next year, they were both recovered by the English; and Rhees ap Gryffith, returning into Wales from the siege of Tutbury castle, persuaded Jorwerth and all

Benedict.
Abb.
Brompton,
ad ann. 1175.
Welsh
Chron. ad
ann. 1175.

all the chief men of his family, to go with him to Gloucester, and make their submissions to Henry, in consequence of a pardon for all former offences, to be obtained of that king through his mediation. This could not be refused to an intercessor, whose conduct, both in Wales and in England, had been so meritorious; nor could Henry himself think, that the resentment which Jorwerth and his family had shewn for the death of his son, all circumstances considered, was without some foundation. He therefore pardoned them all, and, to render his grace more complete, restored to Jorwerth Caerleon, receiving homage from him, and from the other Welsh lords, who accompanied him to this council, some of whom were near kinsmen, either in blood or by marriage, to Rhees ap Gryffyth. What cause there was, after these had thus renewed their allegiance to the crown of England, for any apprehension of new disorders in Wales, the histories of those times do not explain: but Henry deemed it a prudent, if not a necessary caution, to confederate together all his vassals present there, both English and Welsh, in an extraordinary manner, by making them swear, that if any one of them should be attacked by any other potentate in Wales, all the rest would unite in his defence.

Benedict.
Abb.
Brompton,
ad ann.
1175.

Part of the month of July was spent by the king at Nottingham, in impleading a great number of the inhabitants of that county and the circumjacent parts, for having hunted his deer; and from thence he went to York, where, on the tenth day of August, he was attended by the king of Scotland, who brought thither with him all the bishops, earls, barons, knights, and *freeholders* of his realm, from the greatest to the least, in order to their doing, together with himself, and earl David

David, his brother, liege hom  ge to Henry, according to the articles of the treaty of peace concluded at Falaife. The castles, demanded, as securities for the full execution thereof, had been delivered to persons appointed by Henry to take the custody of them, before this time; and thereupon the Scotch king, with all the hostages he had given, among whom was his brother David, the presumptive heir of his kingdom, had been set free. In this assembly at York, the convention of Falaife was publickly read and confirmed; the seals of the king of Scotland and of the prince before-named, being set to it, in presence of the estates of both kingdoms; and the feudal acts there required, with all the further securities of oaths and pledges mentioned in it, being completely performed. These constituted as valid and binding a surrender of the sovereignty of Scotland and all its members to England, as possibly could be made: and thus Henry became *the first king of all Britain*; the princes of Wales having been subjected before, by liege homage and fealty, to the dominion of his imperial crown, and the Scots, who had never yet submitted their monarchy to that or any other power, consenting now to acknowledge the king of England and his heirs, to all perpetuity, their sovereign and liege lords. But what Henry had acquired, with great glory to himself, and great advantage to his people, his immediate successor unadvisedly and impolitickly gave up; since which time, the separation of Scotland from England, and the independence of the former (except for a short interval under Edward the first) did much harm to the latter, and kept both countries in almost continual wars, until the happy union of the kingdoms in the sixth year of Queen Anne, made
the

the Scots and English one nation, and established the British empire on much firmer foundations than any feudal connexion could have given to it, or any force in the English crown, while the realms were divided, could have been able to maintain.

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1175.

At the conclusion of these proceedings at York, the king of Scotland obtained permission from Henry to employ his arms in reducing the rebellious Gallowegians to their former obedience. Gilbert and Uctred, sons of Fergus, who descended from the antient princes of that nation, had, on the death of their father, divided between them the inheritance of the country, and, as vassals to Scotland, had served under the orders of William the Lion, in the late war against Henry: but, when William was a captive, they sent to Henry

Hoveden, ad
ann. 1174.

in France supplications and presents, imploring him to receive them under his dominion, and protect them, as his subjects, against the Scots. The younger of them, Uctred, was Henry's kinsman by his mother; and the proposal they made seemed highly advantageous to the interests of that king.

Benedict.
Abb. t. i. p.
92, 93.

He therefore commissioned his chaplain, Roger de Hoveden, who afterwards wrote the history of his reign, and another ecclesiastick, to treat with these princes. But, before they set out, the elder brother, impatient of a partner in his power, had, by the help of his son, imprisoned the younger, and most cruelly put him to death. A civil war had

Neubrigen-
sis, l. ii.

ensued; the murdered chieftain having left a son, who fought bravely to revenge his father's blood, and to guard for himself the inheritance which he claimed. Nevertheless, at the time when the English envoys arrived, they found Gilbert in possession of the whole province of Galloway, the sovereignty of which, to obtain the king of England's protection, he and his people unanimously offered

Benedict,
Abb. ut
supra.

offered to that monarch, with a yearly tribute of two thousand marks of silver, of five hundred cows and an equal number of swine. But Henry, being informed of the murder of his kinsman, and knowing too, that, in driving out the Scots, the Gal-^{Neubrigea-}lowegians had massacred many English and Nor-^{sa, l. ii.}mans, whom they found in their country, refused to take these barbarians under his protection, or make any treaty with them. This conduct does him honour; and it was generous in him to permit the king of Scotland to recover this province, though he was not bound to do so by the treaty of Falaise, and though Galloway had been antiently under the dominion of the Northumbrian kings, whose rights descended to him, if claims so remote can be considered as rights. Indeed the Scots had no reason, through the whole course of this affair, to complain of his making an immoderate or vindictive use of his fortune. It is therefore no reflection (as some have supposed) on the magnanimity of the nation, that they gave up, at this time, the independence of their state, to save it from devastation, from conquest, from destruction. The spirit they afterwards shewed against Edward the First, who fraudulently and violently, in breach of the trust reposed in him, and without being provoked by hostilities on their part, usurped the sovereignty over their kingdom, sufficiently proves that, in thus submitting to Henry, they considered the injustice of the war they had made, the barbarity with which they had carried it on, the guilt of the rebellion they had abetted, and therefore yielded, without any such violent efforts as arise from a sharp and indignant sense of ill-usage, to the compensation required for the offences committed by their king and by them, against the realm, and against the person of this prince.

Benedict.

Abb. t. i. p.
122.

About Michaelmas, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, arrived in England three ambassadors from Roderick O Conor, king of Conaught, namely, his chancellor, and the archbishop of Tuam, and the abbot of St. Brandon. But, before I relate the occasion of their coming, it will be necessary to give an account of events which had happened in Ireland, from the time when Henry left it until the period above-mentioned.

It is probable that the taking the administration of East Meath from O Ruark, prince of Breffny, and giving the province entirely to Hugh de Lacy, (in whatever manner it was done) produced great resentment in the heart of O Ruark, which burned there undiscovered so long as king Henry continued in Ireland; but, soon after the departure of that monarch from thence, began so far to break forth, as to cause apprehensions that the peace of the kingdom might thereby be disturbed: to prevent which, through the mediation of some friends on each side, a conference was appointed between him and Lacy, lord lieutenant of Ireland. Oaths and sureties having been reciprocally given, they met on a hill not far distant from Dublin, accompanied on each side by a small and equal number of their friends and attendants. It was agreed that the English should only be armed with their swords and the Irish with their axes. The two chiefs conferred together apart from the rest, assisted by one unarmed interpreter. But a knight, named Gryffyth, who was nephew to Maurice Fitzgerald, and one of Lacy's band, having conceived a suspicion of some treachery intended by O Ruark, expressed his fear to his uncle, and, with the consent of that chief, drew off seven knights, who were all his own relations, to another part of the hill, where they immediately

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat.
l. i. c. 40.

immediately took their horses and arms, brought thither by his orders, and began to tilt with each other, wheeling constantly round the place of conference, so as to be within call if any tumult should happen. After some time had been spent in angry disputes between Lacy and O Ruark, the latter, pretending a necessity to withdraw a little while out of sight, gave a signal to some bands of Irish foot-soldiers, whom he had concealed in a valley, that they should come to him, and then returned towards Lacy. But Fitzgerald, who watchfully observed all his motions, seeing him advance with large strides, with a pale visage, and with his axe lifted up, instantly drew his own sword, and, admonishing Lacy to be careful of himself, loudly called upon Gryffyth to hasten to his succour. But, before Lacy had time to draw his sword, O Ruark aimed a blow at his bare head, which cut off the arm of the interpreter, who interposed to ward it off. Lacy, retiring, fell twice; but was protected and saved by the valour of Fitzgerald, who opposed his sword to the axe of the treacherous Irish chief. At the same instant, the bands which O Ruark had called to him, and, the horsemen led by Gryffyth, arrived on the spot where this encounter was passing. The Irish prince, who foresaw that his infantry would not stand the shock of this cavalry, armed with lances and strong shields, endeavoured to escape on a horse, which three of his nobles had brought to him; but, just as he was mounting, he and his horse were pierced through, by one violent push of Gryffyth's lance, and fell dead together. The three nobles were slain, and a great slaughter was made of all the Irish foot, in the open fields, over which they fled dispersed. After the action, the head of O Ruark was cut off, and set up on the great gate of the castle of Dublin; and his

Irish Annals. his body was hung, with the feet upwards, on the gallows; a spectacle very dreadful and shocking to the Irish, who had never been accustomed to see the rebellions of their princes or chieftains so ignominiously punished!

Hibern. Expugnata.
l. i. c. 40.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who is often too fond of superstitious tales, says, that Gryffyth's suspicion was owing to a dream, which he had dreamed the night before, and in which he had seen a multitude of wild swine, rushing out of their cover, with great fury, against Fitzgerald and Lacy; but before the others one boar, of a very enormous size, from whose tusks they were saved, and with difficulty saved, by the assistance he gave them.

What appears from the facts, as they are told by Giraldus, is, that certainly Lacy's life was preserved in the conflict, by the precautions which Gryffyth, distrustful of the Irish, had prudently taken, that morning, in concert with Fitzgerald.

Ibidem.

On Henry's return into England out of Normandy, the head of O Ruark was taken down from the gate of the castle of Dublin, and sent to him in that kingdom. What he did with it there we are not told. But the death of this chieftain gave to Lacy, for some time, a quiet possession of all the great province of Meath, which he held of the king, as his immediate vassal.

In the year eleven hundred and seventy-three, Earl Strongbow, to whom Henry had confirmed the possession and government of Leinster, on the terms before-mentioned, made war on O Dempsey, the chieftain of Ophaly, a district in that province, for refusing to attend his court, when summoned. In this expedition, he was accompanied by Robert de Quiney, to whom he had given in marriage his daughter, by the countess of Pembroke, his first wife, and with her, as a portion, the highest military office he had in his gift, that
of

of constable of Leinster. They ravaged the whole country without resistance: but, when they returned, with the booty they had gained, towards Kildare, just after the vanguard, under the conduct of Strongbow, had passed through a defile, O Dempsey fell on the rear. Robert de Quiney was slain with many of his knights, and the banner of Leinster was taken. The death of the constable, who was well-beloved by the troops, and very dear to the earl, did not affect him or them with more concern, than the disgrace which their arms, for the first time, had suffered, and which, it was feared, would excite the courage of the Irish, easily rendered presumptuous by good success, to further acts of rebellion. The earl probably would have tried, by some enterprise better conducted, to repair his honour and revenge his son-in-law's death; but he had no time to do it, being soon afterwards called, by Lambeth MSS. orders from Henry, to assist him in France, against his enemies there, with all the force he could bring. This mandate he obeyed, though with evident danger to his own great possessions in the province of Leinster; and the king was so pleased with such a proof of fidelity in one to whom he had shewn no extraordinary kindness, that he gave him the custody of the castle of Gisors, a trust of the greatest importance. But, after the victory over the rebels in Bretagne, and other advantages he had gained in France, before the end of autumn, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-three, he sent back this lord, whose presence he then thought more necessary in Ireland, Hibern. Ex-pugn. l. i. c. 43. with signal marks of his favour: for he took Lambeth Manuscr. from Hugh de Lacy the government of that kingdom, and conferred it upon him. The custody of Dublin, annexed to the office of viceroy, was also committed to him; besides which, Henry gave him

him the royal city of Wexford, and a castle in those parts. Hugh de Lacy, with a prompt and meritorious obedience, retired from Dublin into Meath; but Robert Fitzstephen, whom Henry had left in that city, under Lacy's command, was now ordered into Normandy, with Maurice de Prendergast and Robert Fitzbernard. The last of these, as lieutenant in the government of Waterford, to Humphrey de Bohun, who had gone before into England, was commanded to take with him the whole garrison of that place, when he had surrendered the custody thereof to Strongbow, who was required to send thither a competent number of other troops, according to his discretion. The three knights above-mentioned passed over into England about the beginning of October, and found the rebellion then raging in that kingdom, where, in consequence, I presume, of new orders from Henry, they joined his army commanded by Humphrey de Bohun, and did him good service against the earl of Leicester.

Girald.
Cambrensis,
Hbern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 1.

During the absence of Strongbow, confederacies had been formed, among the princes of Ireland, to seize the opportunity of the dangerous wars, both intestine and foreign, which disturbed all the other dominions of Henry, and shake off the yoke of his sovereignty over them, by expelling all the English out of their island. But the earl's unlooked-for return, with greater power than before, restrained the effects of these designs for some time. Nevertheless, no submissions were made to him by O Dempsey, nor did he think it prudent to endeavour to reduce that chief to obedience, until the disturbances in England and France were composed, lest it should kindle a general war with the Irish, to sustain which he had not sufficient force. The troops he had were ill paid; the money he had brought with him having been quickly

quickly spent, and it being no easy matter, as things were then-circumstanced, to draw any more from the king, or from his own lands in England. His soldiers, therefore, growing mutinous, for want of pay and subsistence, desired to supply their necessities by plunder, and, much displeased with the inaction of Hervey of Mountmaurice, who soon after the death of Robert de Quiney had succeeded to the chief command of the army, demanded of Strongbow, to be put under the command of Raymond Fitzgerald, whom they loved for his liberality, his enterprising spirit, and the great spoils they had taken when he was at their head, in the wars they had made as auxiliaries to Dermot.

The earl, for many good reasons, was very unwilling to make an alteration, solicited in this manner; but the whole soldiery, with one voice, declaring they would leave him, and pass over into England, or even desert to the Irish, if he did not comply with their demand, he submitted to a force he could not resist. Raymond led them directly into the heart of Ophaly, and got much plunder there; but, this gain rather irritating than satisfying their avarice, they made an expedition into Munster, took Lismore, which they sacked, and pillaged the whole district belonging to that town, on what pretence we are not told. Perhaps they thought it a sufficient cause of war, that the Irish there had some money by means of their commerce with the neighbouring Ostmen of Waterford and of Cork, and a great abundance of cattle. The spoils of the town they proposed to send to Waterford, in some ships from that city, and other merchant vessels which they found in the port: but, while these transports, so laden, were wind-bound in the mouth of the river Avonmore, they were attacked by a fleet of two

G. Cambrensis.
Hibern. Expugn. l. ii. c. 2.

and thirty ships, which the citizens of Cork had sent out to intercept them. The English and Welsh soldiers, whom Raymond had put aboard to guard them, under the conduct of an officer named Adam de Hereford, defended them with great valour. The chief commander of the enemy's fleet was killed; some of their vessels were taken, the rest returned to Cork; and the victorious party sailed to Waterford, as soon as the wind would permit. In the mean time, Raymond, at the head of fourscore knights and men at arms, defeated a body of Irish, whom Dermot Mac Carthy, prince of Cork and of Desmond, had led to Lismore by land, in concert with the Ostmen; and then proceeded, undisturbed by any further opposition, along the sea-coast, to Waterford, with a booty of four thousand cows and sheep, taken by his troops in the territory of Lismore. Elated with his success, he pressed the earl to give him his sister Basilea, with whom he was in love, and the office of constable or standard-bearer of Leinster, until an infant daughter, left by Robert de Quiney, should be married to a man by whom the duty of it could be performed. But, the earl desiring time to consider on the matter, and shewing himself not disposed to grant either part of this request, Raymond, full of resentment, took the occasion of his father's death in Wales, which happened soon afterwards, to return to that country, drawing away with him Meyler, his cousin german and friend, who, in all these Irish wars, but more particularly in some actions of the enterprise against Lismore, had eminently signalised his valour. After their departure, the command of Strongbow's forces in Leinster was again committed to his uncle, Hervey of Mountmaurice; yet the earl, to prevent any

Lambeth
Manuscript,
Harris's
Hibern.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 3.

any mutiny of the soldiers, in an expedition he designed to make against Cork, chose to lead them himself, and marched with them to Cashel, where he halted some time, in expectation of a body of English and Ostmen from Dublin, who were ordered to join his army there. But these troops, in their march, being lodged at Ossory for one night, and not fearing the approach of any enemy in that place, were attacked at the point of day, as they slept in their quarters, by a strong party of Irish, under Donald O Brian, prince of Limerick, and lost four hundred Ostmen, with four English knights, who commanded the cavalry employed in this service. The earl hereupon retired to Waterford, and found himself soon confined within the walls of that city; all the country being filled with armies of Irish, who, on the news of O Brian's success at Ossory, as on a signal given, revolted from the allegiance they had sworn to Henry. Roderick O Conor himself, desiring to regain the sovereignty of Ireland, which he had unwillingly yielded up, passed the Shannon from Conaught, and with a great force invaded Meath. Hugh de Lacy at this time was gone over to serve the king, his master, in England, after having portioned out all the lands of that province among his friends and soldiers, to be held under him as baronies or knights-fees, except what he reserved for his own use in demesne. So dangerous a war now coming upon them in the absence of their chief, they only endeavoured to save the principal places, abandoning many small forts he had caused to be built for the security of the country. These the Irish destroyed, and ravaged all Meath, to the very confines of Dublin. In such circumstances, Strongbow, seeing no other resource, dispatched a letter to Raymond,

Lambeth
Manuscr.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 4.

whereby he entreated him to come to his aid with all the forces he could raise, assuring him that immediately after his arrival he would give him his sister. Raymond, equally fired by ambition and love, hastened over with Meyler and thirty other knights, who were all of his own kindred, one hundred men at arms, who served likewise on horse-back, and three hundred Welsh archers. He and his band arrived safe in the port of Waterford, at the very instant when the citizens were rising to attack the English in that city. On the sight of the fleet coming in before the wind, with the ensigns of England displayed, their fury yielded to their fear; the tumult was appeased; and Raymond, landing his forces without opposition, conducted the earl from thence to Wexford by land, and all the troops he had with him, except the garrison placed in Reginald's tower, and a few English, who, under the protection of these, chose to remain in the town. But the governor he left there, not daring to trust to that defence, soon afterwards embarked, with some of his own household, aboard of a small vessel, then lying in the river and navigated by some Ostmen, who promised to carry them by sea to Wexford, but murdered them all as soon as they had them in their power. This was done with the privity of many of their countrymen inhabiting Waterford, to whom returning, they instantly massacred all the English in the houses or streets, without distinction of sex or age. Yet the garrison of the tower recovered the town, expelling, by an agreement with the rest of the citizens, those who had been directly concerned in these murders, and pardoning all the others.

In the mean time, Raymond solemnised his nuptials at Wexford, and the next morning led his troops to oppose the depredations which the king of Conaught was making in the territory of Dublin.

lin. That prince, at his approach, retired through Meath into his own dominions; and none of the other Irish chiefs, who had confederated with him, daring after his departure to keep the field, Raymond recovered all Meath.

It was reasonable to think that the English, until such time as the civil dissensions in England were entirely composed, would have been content with defending those provinces of Ireland in which they were settled from the attacks of the Irish: but the active spirit of Raymond, and his desire to enrich his troops with plunder, impelled him to make an offensive war on the territory of Donald O Brian, and attempt to take Limerick itself by storm; an enterprise to which his forces did not seem in any degree proportioned; for, against the great multitude of inhabitants there, who were trained to the use of arms, he brought only one hundred and twenty knights, or heavy-armed horse, three hundred light horse, and four hundred foot, who were archers; though the town was walled round, and had a stronger defence by being encompassed by the river Shannon, fordable only in one place, where the stream was very rapid, and the bottom rough and stony. The troops stood on the brink, afraid to attempt so dangerous a passage, when a nephew of Raymond, named David, who was a very young man, and had never before been engaged in any action, spurring his horse forced him forwards into the river, and got safe to the other side, crying out, that he had found the ford. But, none having followed him, except one heavy-armed horseman, named Geoffry Judas, he turned back and rejoined the body of cavalry from which he had gone forth. His companion, endeavouring to do so too, was carried away by the violence of the current into a deeper part of the river, and there drowned. Nevertheless, the brave
Mey-

Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. ii.
c. 8.

Meyler, being emulous of the courage his kinsman had shewn, plunged into the water, and passing over, unaccompanied by any of the soldiers, to the opposite side, began to fight with the Irish, some of whom opposed his landing on the margin of the Shannon, while those on the walls, which hung over the bank of the river, cast down upon him a thick shower of darts and stones. Loud shouts were hereupon set up by both parties, which drew Raymond from the rear to the head of his army, where seeing his cousin engaged alone in so unequal a combat, he incited his men, by a short speech, to assist him, and gave them an example more powerful than his words, by passing foremost himself. One knight and two horsemen of an inferior degree were all they lost in the passage; the citizens, struck with terror, fled into the city, shamefully deserting, not only the margin of the river, but the wall and rampart itself. A great slaughter was made of them within the city, and a vast booty gained by the pillage of the houses, which these conquerors thought the best reward of conquest: but it added much to their joy, that they had thus taken vengeance on the prince of Limerick, for the loss of the four hundred Ostmen of Dublin, slain at Offory by his troops. Raymond left fifty knights, with two hundred other horsemen, and the same number of archers, for the garrison of the city, and then returned into Leinster.

Girald.
Cambrenf.
Hibern. Ex-
pugnat. l. ii.
c. 6.

About this time, in a synod of the bishops of Ireland convened at Waterford, the bull of Pope Adrian, which granted that kingdom to Henry, was publicly read, having been, for that purpose, brought over from England by the prior of Wallingford, and William Fitz Aldelm. One should have thought that the king would have carried it with him when he went into Ireland: but,

but, for reasons not explained in the histories of those times, he did not produce it until now; though at his first coming thither he certainly let the Irish clergy know, that the see of Rome had approved his undertaking. Perhaps the harsh expressions in it concerning the nation, and the strange power there assumed of disposing of a free and independent crown, by a gift to a foreign prince from one who had a right to what he gave, made it proper to conceal the grant from the Irish, while a quiet submission of their princes and nobles to the sovereignty of Henry was hoped for by that monarch. The present revolt destroyed this hope; and therefore he now might recur to the papal authority, as the most effectual means to secure the obedience of the clergy of Ireland, by whom the people, whose consciences were under their direction, might, in spite of their rulers, be kept subject to him, or reclaimed from rebellion.

After this synod was dissolved, William Fitz-Aldelm and the prior of Waterford returned into England, from whence they went to the king in Normandy, that they might inform him what state his realm of Ireland was in, and from what causes the troubles, which after Strongbow's return had rather encreased than subsided, did, in their opinion, proceed. The report they made was agreeable to the impressions they had taken from Hervey of Mountmaurice, who accused Raymond of having made the English troops in Leinster a mere band of freebooters, whose continual depredations had provoked all the Irish, and the Ostmen themselves, to rebel. He added, that it was the intention of this officer, by the aid of these soldiers, to usurp for himself, not only the city and dominions of Limerick, but the whole realm of Ireland; and, in proof of this, he alledged his

Hibern. Expugnata. l. ii. c. 11.

having

having bound them to himself by extraordinary oaths, of a treasonable nature. The first part of the charge was not groundless; and, though in the latter the malice of Hervey against Raymond made him exceed the bounds of truth, yet certainly there was cause for jealousy of state in the attachment to Raymond which the army had shewn against the principles of military discipline and obedience. Henry thought it so alarming, that, in the spring of the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, he recalled him from Ireland, sending thither two nobles, with orders to bring him over into Normandy with them, and two others commissioned to remain with the earl, and assist him with their counsels. But, while Raymond, in obedience to this command, was preparing to set sail, intelligence came to the earl, that Donald O Brian, prince of Limerick, had beleaguered that city with a great host of Irish; and that all the provisions found in it, when it was taken by Raymond, or brought into it afterwards, had been consumed in the winter. Strongbow therefore resolved to march instantly to its succour: but all his army refused to go upon this service without their former commander. In these circumstances he consulted the two noble counsellors sent from the king, who joined with him, on account of the pressing necessity, in desiring Raymond to resume the command of these troops, so devoted to his person. That general hereupon led forth a detachment consisting of fourscore heavy-armed cavalry, two hundred light horse, and three hundred archers, besides some bands of Irish foot, conducted by the chiefs of Ossory and Kinsale, whom family quarrels had made inveterate enemies to Donald O Brian. But, before they reached Cashel, in their way to Limerick, they heard that Donald, having raised the siege of
that

that city, on the first advice of their march, had taken post in a streight, lying between them and Cashel, and had strongly fenced it against them. On this intelligence they advanced, and when they approached to the streight, the chief of Ossory made them this extraordinary speech :
 “ O ye men, whose victorious arms have sub-
 “ dued to you this island, behave yourselves well
 “ this day : because, if you conquer, our axes
 “ will join your swords in wounding the backs of
 “ the vanquished and flying enemy ; but, if ye
 “ are beaten, these weapons, which always strike
 “ on the side of the conquering party, will be
 “ certainly turned against you.”

Meyler Fitz-Henry, who led the vanguard of the English, hearing these words, which declared what had before been suspected, made so furious a charge, that he quickly forced his way through the enemy's barricado, with some slaughter of the Irish by whom it was guarded ; but most of them, fled without fighting. I presume that in this and other assaults of entrenchments, or any fortified places, the English horsemen dismounted and fought on foot, sword in hand ; cavalry not being proper for such operations. By the victory thus obtained, not only the relief of Limerick was effected, but, within a short time afterwards, Donald O Brian and Roderick king of Conaught had conferences with Raymond, in which, begging for peace, they renewed their oaths of fealty to the king of England, and gave hostages to secure a more faithful performance of their promises for the future. Moreover (to complete the good fortune of Raymond) on his return to Limerick, he found envoys from Dermot Mac Carthy, prince or king of Desmond, who came to implore his assistance in behalf of their master, whose rebellious son had almost driven him out of that country. This suit being backed with liberal offers to Ray-

Hibern. Ex-
 pugn. l. i.
 c. 13.

Raymond, and high pay to his soldiers, he gladly seized the occasion of acquiring two things which he equally coveted, more wealth and more fame. His arms restored Dermot; and he and his forces returned from this expedition, enriched with the gifts they had received from that prince, and with store of plunder they had taken from the rebels. After such happy success, it was not thought advisable to send him out of Ireland, or deprive him of a command which it seemed that no other could so worthily take. The peace he had settled in Desmond was soon disturbed: for Mac Carthy's son, under colour of a reconciliation, having found means to get his father into his power, shut him up in prison: but the old man, with equal craft, contrived to put the usurping prince to death. Ireland from that time was quiet, until the end of the civil war in England and France, when Henry, having leisure to attend to the settlement of his Irish dominions, was desirous to conclude a new treaty of agreement with Roderick king of Conaught, for which purpose that prince had sent over his chancellor, and the prelates before named, and his plenipotentiaries, who, a little before Michaelmas, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, waited on Henry at Windsor, where a great council was held, by extraordinary summons, for the solemn determination of this affair. The convention there ratified was to this effect. Henry granted to his liege-man Roderick, that he should be a *king under him*, ready to serve him *as his vassal*; and that he should hold his own territories as well and as peaceably, as he had held them before the coming of Henry into Ireland. He was likewise to have under his rule and dominion all the rest of the island, and the inhabitants thereof (but with some exceptions which are afterwards specified in the treaty) and to exercise jurisdiction over them all (kings and princes included)

Brompton's
Chron. col.
1106, 1107.
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1175.
See also
Appendix.

ded) so as to oblige them to pay their tribute to the king of England, through his hands, and to preserve to that monarch his other rights. They ^{Brompton, at supra.} were likewise to hold in peace whatsoever they possessed at that time, so long as they remained faithful to the king of England, and paid him their tribute and what else he claimed by right, through the king of Conaught's hands; saving in all things the prerogative and the honour of both those kings. And in case that any of them should rebel against either, and refuse to pay their tribute or other duties in the manner before prescribed, or should depart from their fealty to the king of England, the king of Conaught was to judge them, and remove them from their governments or from their possessions. It was likewise agreed and declared, that, if Roderick's own strength should not be sufficient to do these things, the king of England's constable and his other servants and soldiers should assist him therein, upon his requisition, and so far as they should find needful. The tribute demanded of him, out of all his own territories and others in the island, was a hide, saleable for the merchant, from every tenth beast of all the cattle killed there: except, that in those districts which the king of England retained as his demesnes, or in those of his barons, he was not to intermeddle; namely, in Dublin, and all its appurtenances; in Meath, and all its appurtenances; (comprehending therein whatsoever had been held by Hugh Melachlin, or by any who had held that province after him) and in Wexford, and all the territory thereof, and in all the rest of Leinster; and in Waterford, with the country between that city and Dungarvan; this latter place, with all its appurtenances, included. And, if any of the Irish, who had fled from the territories of the king's barons, should desire to return thither, they

Benedict.
Abb. ut
supra.

they might do it in peace, paying the tribute above-mentioned, as others did ; or doing the antient services which they used to do for their lands ; as their lords should like best. But, if any of the Irish, who were subjects of the king of Conaught, should refuse to return to him, he might compel them to do it ; after which they were quietly to remain in his land. Moreover, the said king was impowered to take hostages from all those whom the king of England had committed to him, at his own and the king of England's choice ; and he was to give the said hostages to the king of England, or others, at the king's choice. And all those, from whom these securities were demanded, were to perform certain annual services to the king of England, by presents of Irish dogs and hawks. And they were not to detain any person whatsoever, belonging to any land or territory of that prince, against his will and commandment.

Hoveden, at
supra.

Among the witnesses to this treaty was Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, who before the arrival of the king of Conaught's envoys had come over to England. From the tenour thereof it appears, that Henry thereby constituted Roderick O Conor, a kind of viceroy, under him, over the whole realm of Ireland, except those parts which he held himself in demesne, or had granted to his barons, namely, Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford, with all their appurtenances, and Leinster, and Meath with all theirs. In Meath, was then included the western province of that name, as well as the eastern. When the kingdom of Leinster was granted by Henry to Strongbow, Dublin, with some of the cantreds adjacent to that city, was separated from it, and retained in demesne by the king ; for which reason it is mentioned distinctly here. Wexford and Waterford, being also

also in the hands of that monarch, are therefore excepted.

If the ability of reducing the whole kingdom of Ireland to a perfect subjection had not been wanting at this time, Henry would not have chosen to make one of the Irish princes, and (what was still worse) their late monarch, the instrument of his sovereignty over that nation (as he did by this treaty): for, surely, it was not the proper way to reclaim them from their barbarous customs, nor a security on which he could firmly depend. But in the present conjuncture, he did not think it advisable to withdraw himself from the care of his other dominions; and, without making a long abode in that island, he could not hope to establish his authority there in so complete a manner, as to be able to model the government of it on a regular, English plan. Two of the five Irish kingdoms (reckoning Munster, according to the ancient division) and three principal cities, were, by this treaty, exempted from Roderick's jurisdiction: in the others, the inferior princes and chieftains of the Irish had reason to think the protection, which they were entitled to demand from Henry, as his vassals and liege-men, against any oppression on the part of the king of Conaught, a very sufficient compensation, both to them and their people, for so easy a tribute as they were bound to pay, or any other services required on their part. Yet, the grants made of some portions of their country to foreigners, were so grievous to the Irish, their national pride was so hurt by the loss of the ancient independence of Ireland, and the bonds of their allegiance to the king of England were now so loosely tied, that this was rather a temporary accommodation between him and them, than a durable settlement of his government in that island. His chief support there, (except

Benedict.
Abb ad ann.
1175.

cept in the provinces possessed by the English) was the affection of the clergy; to strengthen which he promoted a native Irishman, named Augustin, to the bishoprick of Waterford, and sent him to be consecrated by the archbishop of Cashel; which act of prerogative over the church of Ireland was done in this council held at Windsor, the archbishops of Dublin and Tuam being present.

Chron.
Gervase.
col. 1432.

About the end of November, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, the king, who had returned to his palace at Winchester, went out from thence to meet the pope's legate *à latere*, Cardinal Huguzon, whom he had sent for himself. The pretence for calling him over was to settle the dispute concerning the primacy between the archbishops of Canterbury and York: but

Ibidem.

Gervase of Canterbury tells us, "*that Henry, bating his queen for having instigated his sons to conspire against him, earnestly sought a divorce, and, to obtain it from the pope, invited over this legate, and by caresses and presents attached him to himself.*" I likewise find by a manuscript in

Bibl. Cotton. Claudius, B. ii. f. 212. b. See it also in the Appendix to this book.

the Cotton library, that, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-eight, the barons of Poitou, who were then in rebellion against Henry, presented a paper to the cardinal legates in France, the Purport of which was to shew, that Henry and Eleanor were third cousins of the half blood. Their view therein must have been, to procure, on this account, from the papal authority, another divorce from that princess; as she had been separated before from king Louis, her first husband, for being his fourth cousin of the whole blood. The dominion of Henry over their country would thus have been rooted up: but the manuscript says, that no attention was given to them, on this point, by the legates. Henry himself may have now been willing to make use of this

this, or any pretence, to break the bonds of his marriage, which he could not but feel very grievous, after the atrocious conspiracy his queen had formed, in his family itself, for his ruin; a conspiracy, which he had too much cause to believe had even struck at his life. One circumstance alone could naturally check his strong and reasonable desire of being separated from her, the bastardising of his children by such a divorce. But it has been mentioned before, that the law of England, at this time, allowed the children of parents, divorced from each other on account of near kindred, to inherit, as if born in lawful wedlock; and Henry might think that the reason and equity of this law would not only be applied to private inheritances, but also to that of the crown. He might also suppose, that his eldest son's coronation, and the feudal homage performed to him in consequence of that act, would secure his succession to the kingdom of England, and all dependencies on that crown, by a kind of elective right; and that the investiture of the duchy of Aquitaine, given by Louis to Richard, would be likewise a sufficient security to the latter for the quiet possession of that feudal dominion. The same reasoning would hold good as to Anjou and Maine, with which his eldest son had been invested; and he might, at his death, with the consent of the states, bequeath to him Normandy, which a testamentary appointment, so ratified and confirmed, had given to William *the Bastard*. As for Geoffry, his right to the duchy of Bretagne arose wholly from his marriage with the heiress thereof, and therefore could not be affected by the nullity of the marriage made by his parents, if it should be declared void. The agreement of Eleanor to this separation, for the sake of delivering herself out of prison, and her consent to give up the duchy of Aquitaine to her favourite son,

Richard

See Vol. II.
p. 209, and
Glanville,
l. vi. c. 17.

Richard, reserving a proper appanage for her own support and maintenance, could hardly be doubted. These reasons, concurring with a strong inclination, might seem to Henry sufficient to remove the objection of his hurting his children by annulling his marriage; and, as Cardinal Huguzon was his friend and relation, (for so he calls him in a letter to the pope), he might hope to prevail in his application to Rome, for relief from the matrimonial yoke, which, in several instances, the authority of that see had taken off from princes, on less excusable motives. What passed in the negotiation, (if there really was any negotiation about it) we are not told; nor indeed could the particulars be easily known to the chroniclers of those days. Unfortunately, at this period, we have not the same help from the private letters of persons entrusted with secrets, as we had in transactions relating to Becket, when that prelate was in exile. The public acts of the legate, in exercising his authority over the English church, are more fully related. Upon his first arrival, the clergy complained heavily to him of their having been prosecuted in the king's courts for hunting in his forests, as a breach of the privileges claimed for them by Rome. But they gained from him no support. On the contrary, he authorised those prosecutions; doubtless, because he well knew that many canons of the church forbade them to hunt*. Yet Gervase of Canterbury, and some of the other monks, who wrote histories in that age, inviegh bitterly against him on this account.

Benedict.
Abb. ad ann.
1175.

* V. Concil. Agat. A. D. 420. c. 25. 2 Concil. Masc. A.D. 568. Surius, Conc. t. iii. p. 40. Spelman, Concil. t. i. p. 237. 238. Gratian, Distinct. 34—86. Joh. Salisb. Polic. l. i. c. 4. Petri Blef. Epist. 56—61.

On the second of February, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, the king held at Northampton a general assembly, or parliament, "in Diceto, ad ann. 1176. Gervase, col. 1433. which (says Gervase) he renewed and confirmed the assize of Clarendon, the execrable constitutions of which had caused the blessed Martyr St. Thomas to live in banishment seven years, and at last to be crowned with a glorious martyrdom."

This did not well suit with the publick veneration he had lately paid to Becket; and we may reasonably presume that the legate availed himself of that inconsistency, to remonstrate against the execution of those laws, thus renewed and confirmed. These remonstrances he might make with greater efficacy and force, if it be true that the king desired help from the pope (as Gervase of Canterbury affirms) to get his marriage dissolved: because such a favour could hardly be obtained from the church without some concessions to it; and this motive would operate much more strongly on Henry, to induce him to grant them, than any other whatsoever. There must certainly have been some powerful, latent reason, which, after so long a contention, could make him desist from executing his laws, especially at a time when his arms had been victorious over all his enemies, and his power was established more firmly than ever in the realm of England.

For it appears, from a letter which he sent to the pope by the hand of the legate, that, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the greatest and wisest men in his kingdom, he had, at the earnest intercession of the legate, and out of his reverence and devotion towards the see of Rome, accorded, that, for the future, no ecclesiastick should be personally brought before any secular judge, for any crime or transgression, except an offence against the forest laws, or in the case of a lay fee,

Diceto Imag. Hist. col. 593, 594. See also the Appendix to this book.

for which secular service was due to him (the king), or to any other lay lord.

This impunity to all crimes, but the trespasses above-mentioned, would have endangered the lives of the clergy themselves; to secure them from which share of peril with the laity, the king further promised, in his letter to the pope, that any person convicted, or making confession, before his justiciary, in the presence of the bishop or his official, of having wilfully and maliciously murdered a clergyman, should, besides the usual punishment for the murder of a layman, suffer a forfeiture, for himself and for his heirs, of all his land of inheritance for ever.

The king added a promise to exempt the clergy, in all causes, from being tried by duel, and not to retain in his hands vacant bishopricks or abbeyes beyond the term of one year, *unless from urgent necessity, or some evident cause of delay, not falsely pretended.*

These last words, in effect, set the restraint very loose, as the *necessity* and the *cause* were to be judged of by him: but neither this, nor any other of the foregoing concessions, was enacted at this time by authority of parliament, or during any part of this king's reign; nor did he himself observe them, except in not compelling criminal churchmen to appear before a lay judge, unless in the cases reserved, and exempting them in all cases from the mode of trial by duel; as will hereafter appear. The statutes of Clarendon, concerning ecclesiastical matters, subsisted unrepealed and confirmed, but were suspended, in part, by a temporary connivance of the executive power, which, though an unwarrantable act of prerogative, was better than an absolute and express repeal.

Before I particularize the laws, not relating to the church, which had been enacted at Clarendon,

don, and were confirmed at Northampton, it will be proper to finish the account of the legate's proceedings in England. After settling a dispute about a chapel at Gloucester, between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, he brought them both to refer their more important controversy, about the right of the latter to carry his cross erect in the province of the former, and other points of contention between their sees, to the judgment of the archbishop of Rouen, and some other French prelates. He then visited all the metropolitan churches and principal abbeys of England; in the exercise of which power he is accused of extorting a great deal of money, which he carried out of the kingdom. This visitation being ended, he returned to the king, and, with the concurrence of his advice and authority, summoned all the bishops, abbots, and priors of England, *to bear the mandates and precepts of the sovereign pontiff*, (says the abbot of Peterborough, a contemporary author.) At the opening of this synod, which met on Mid-lent Sunday in a chapel at Westminster, a most extraordinary and most scandalous scene ensued. For, the legate being seated, an eager contention arose between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, for the place at his right hand; and, while they were disputing, the monks of Canterbury, and all the attendants on the former, rushed furiously on the latter, assaulted him, threw him down, and trampled him under their feet. He received from them many blows; his mitre was broken; and he was with difficulty delivered from their rage, half dead, by others of the council. The legate, seeing this outrage, and supposing it to be done by the archbishop of Canterbury's order, or at his instigation, summoned that prelate to Rome, there to answer for having, by such a riot, in his presence, affronted and disgraced the ambassador of

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 122.
Gervase,
col. 1432.

Benedict.
Abb. p. 138,
139. t. i.
ann. 1166.

the pope," and the pope himself. The archbishop of York also cited his adversary to the Roman tribunal, and with him the bishop of Ely, as personally concerned in this assault. The legate, after notifying his own resolution of bringing the affair before the pope, dissolved the assembly: so that we know not what were *the mandates and precepts of the sovereign pontiff* which they were summoned to hear. The archbishop of York, as soon as he was able to go out of the synod, went and complained to the king of the injuries he had suffered, which raised in that monarch a great passion of anger against the two offending prelates of Canterbury and Ely. The first of these very prudently applied to the legate in private, and with soothing words, well supported by the more prevalent force of gold, persuaded him to desist from his appeal to the pope, as he did himself from a counter-appeal he had made. He also solicited a reconciliation with the archbishop of York, which that prelate refused. Soon afterwards the legate, much disgusted at the scandal of which he had been a witness, departed into Normandy, where he exercised his authority in some acts not recorded by the writers of those times, and then returned to Rome.

Many reasons made it proper for the king to resent this flagrant breach of the peace, thus committed in the face of the whole English church, and of a cardinal legate. One was, that it partly arose from the hatred the monks of Canterbury bore to the archbishop of York, for what he had done against Becket, notwithstanding his having been absolved by the pope from the spiritual censures, which had been fulminated against him on that account. For, as he went out of the synod, many of them exclaimed, "*Go, betrayer of St. Thomas: thy bands still smell of blood!*" But, the

the legate having now prevailed upon Henry: not to punish any outrage, even of the most heinous kind, by the justice of the crown, if the offender was in holy orders, that prince could not judicially take any cognizance of this affair, and it was his desire to continue in friendship with the archbishop of Canterbury, whom he had found well affected in all respects to his service, and of great moderation in ecclesiastical matters. As soon, therefore, as the first emotions of anger were quieted in his mind, he used his utmost endeavours to make up this quarrel between the two contending primates, so contrary to the spirit of meekness and humility becoming their sacred function. For this purpose he called a great council at Winchester, and prevailed on them there to take an oath, that they would suspend, for five years all enmity or wrath against each other. The bishop of Ely likewise swearing, before the whole assembly, that he had not been guilty of laying violent hands on the archbishop of York, he and that prelate were made friends.

But, to return to the acts of the parliament at Northampton.—It is a common opinion that one of those acts was the first institution of *justices in Eyre, or itinerant justices*, in the kingdom of England. And indeed the first mention of them in our ancient chronicles is under this year. But Madox has shewn, by far superior authority, the great Rolls of the Exchequer, that there had been itinerant justices, to hear and determine criminal and civil pleas, in the fifteenth year of King Stephen, and likewise justices in Eyre for the pleas of the forest. It also appears by the same unquestionable evidence, that in the twelfth, and from thence to the seventeenth year of King Henry the Second, such justices had been sent into the several counties, and afterwards, from the twentieth to the twenty-sixth of that king, inclusively.

Benedict.
Abb. and
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1176.

Hist. of the
Exchequer,
c. iii. p. 100,
101, 102.

Ibidem, p.
98, 99.
V. Append.

sively. As this point is important to the history of our law, I shall give these records in the Appendix to this book. But I must further observe here, that, as well in the names of the justices itinerant of the years eleven hundred and seventy-six, and eleven hundred and seventy-nine, as in the counties assigned to them, some differences occur between the rolls above mentioned, and the chronicles of Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, and Hoveden, who copies from him. We therefore cannot rely on the accounts in those writers, concerning this matter, as accurate or authentick. Nevertheless, it is probable, from what they say, that a new division of the kingdom into six circuits may have been made in this parliament of the twenty-second year of Henry the Second, and another into four in the twenty-ninth of that king. There is reason to believe, that the first appointment of itinerant judges in England was consequential to a similar institution in France, which Louis le Gros introduced, and which Stephen, from seeing the utility of it there, may have brought into this kingdom; as many other customs, after the Normans came hither, were derived to us from the French, and many of ours reciprocally imparted to the Normans and other subjects of our kings in France. But this, during the government of Henry the Second, would naturally become a more settled and more regular practice, than in the foregoing reign, continually agitated with intestine commotions: and thus the glory of fixing in the English constitution so useful an improvement may be duly ascribed to this prince.

History of
the Com-
mon Law of
England.
c. vii.

Lord Chief Justice Hale, whom I cite as the best authority on this subject, in displaying the advantages of this institution, observes, "that it was a remedy to the evils arising from the administration of the common justice of the kingdom"

“ dom (being except in great cases) wholly dis-
 “ pensed in the county courts, hundred courts,
 “ and courts baron; which must have bred great
 “ inconvenience, uncertainty, and variety in the
 “ laws, especially in the several counties. For,
 “ the decision or judgment being made by divers
 “ courts and several independent judges who had
 “ no common interest among them, in their se-
 “ veral judicatories, thereby, in process of time,
 “ every several county would have several laws,
 “ customs, rules, and forms of proceeding.”

His lordship likewise takes notice, “ that in
 “ these several courts all the business of any mo-
 “ ment was carried by parties and factions. For,
 “ the freeholders being generally the judges, not
 “ only of the fact, but of the law, every man
 “ that had a suit there sped according as he could
 “ make parties, and men of great power and in-
 “ terest in the county did easily overbear others in
 “ their own causes, or in such wherein they were
 “ interested, either by relation of kindred, tenure,
 “ service, dependence, or application. And, al-
 “ though in cases of false judgment, the law,
 “ even as then used, provided a remedy by writ
 “ of false judgment before the king or his chief
 “ justice, and in case the judgment was found to
 “ be such in the county court, all the members
 “ were considerably amerced (which also con-
 “ tinued long after in use with some severity), yet
 “ this proved but an ineffectual remedy for these
 “ mischiefs. Therefore the king took another
 “ and a more effectual course: for in the twenty-
 “ second year of his reign, by the advice of his
 “ parliament held at Northampton, he instituted
 “ justices itinerant,” &c.

To these observations of this learned judge I
 will add, that there was another reason for it, of a
 political nature, namely, to obviate the mischiefs
 arising

arising to the crown, and to the whole commonwealth, from the hereditary jurisdictions introduced into England by the feudal system there established under the first Norman kings. The dispensing of justice is the highest and noblest prerogative of a monarch; nor does any thing more disturb the good order of a kingdom, than to have that power independently resident in subjects, and exercised in their names. It was some check to this evil, that from the other inferior courts appeals lay to the county court; where the sheriff (an officer of the crown) presided; and from thence to the king's court. But, to have the royal justice thus carried into all the several counties, by itinerant judges, whose commissions were immediately derived from the crown, whose jurisdiction was exercised in the name of the king, and armed with all his power, was a very great ease and benefit to the people, as it saved them from the trouble of prosecuting appeals in ordinary suits, and was much less expensive.

The above-mentioned records of the Exchequer demonstrate, that, during a great part of King Henry the Second's reign, pleas were held in the counties, from year to year, by his judges. But it appears by a passage in Matthew of Westminster, called Florilegus, that some time before the year twelve hundred and sixty-one, the itinerant justices were restrained from going their circuits oftner than once in seven years. This was a blameable change, and probably was occasioned by the jealousy of the barons, desirous to keep the administration of justice in their own hands. It was happy for the commons when annual circuits, agreeably to the practice in the reign of this king, were afterwards re established.

The itinerant judges, appointed in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, were directed and impowered, by authority of parliament, to do in their

V. Florileg.
p. 379. ad
ann. 1261.

Benedict.
Abbas, and
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1176.

their circuits all kinds of right and justice which belonged to the king's regal office, by commission from him, or (in the case of his absence out of the kingdom) from his vicegerents, where the property in question was not more than half a knight's fee; unless the controversy were of such importance that it could not be determined but in the king's presence, or so difficult that the judges doubted about it, and desired to refer it to the king, or to those who held his place. They were also commanded to make inquisition concerning robbers and other malefactors, in the counties through which they went, and to take special care of the profits of the crown in its landed estate and feudal rights of various sorts, escheats, wardships, and the like: to enquire into castle guards, and send the king information from what persons they were due, in what places, and to what extent: to see that the castles which the parliament had advised the king to demolish were completely destroyed, under pain of being prosecuted themselves in his court: to enquire what persons had gone out of the realm, that, if they did not return by a day appointed, in order to take their trial in the king's court, they might be outlawed: to receive, within a certain limited term, from all who would stay in the kingdom, of every rank and condition (not excepting even those who held by servile tenures), oaths of fealty to the king, which if any man refused, they were to cause him to be apprehended as the king's enemy; and, moreover, to oblige all persons from whom liege homage was owing, and who had not yet done it, to do it to the king within a certain time, which the justice themselves were to fix.

The greater part of these injunctions were consequences of the late intestine war. But, some statutes renewed in this parliament at Northampton, and which the itinerant justices were sworn to

to observe, being general regulations in judicial proceedings, or laws, by which the civil property or the criminal justice of the realm was materially affected, it will be necessary to explain the nature of them here, with some observations thereupon.

Benedict.
Abb. and
Howden, ad
anno. 1176.
See also the
Appendix to
this Book.

By one of these it was declared, that, on the death of a free tenant, his heirs should remain in such seisin, or possession, of his fee, as he had at the day of his decease; and should have his chattels, in order to satisfy the legacies devised by his will: and that afterwards they should repair to their lord, and perform to him all they owed, with regard to the relief, and other feudal dues to which he was entitled.

If the heir was a minor, his lord was required to receive his homage, and take the custody of him during his nonage. If he had more lords than one, they all were required to receive his homage, and he was to perform to them all his feudal duties. The wife of the defunct was also to have her dower, and such part of his chattels, as belonged to her. And, if the lord, of the fee should deny to the heirs of the defunct the seisin they claimed, the king's justices were to make recognition, or inquest by twelve lawful men, what possession he had at the day of his decease, and according to the verdict restore it to his heirs. It was added, that if any one should act contrary to this statute, and be attainted thereof, he should be at the king's mercy (that is, he should be fined).

This was a very important act of parliament. It secured to the heirs of every tenant the chattels of the defunct, for the satisfaction of his bequests, against any unjust or vexatious detainer thereof by the lord of the fee, and to the widow her dower and her part of his chattels. At the same time it secured to the feudal lord, or lords, all the fruits
of

of their tenure, not as given by this statute, but as recognised and confirmed, some particularly, and some by general words. The method of enquiry, in case that possession of the fee should be denied to the tenant, was not by duel or any superstitious kind of trial, but by the verdict of a jury, upon which the king's justices were immediately upon restore the inheritance to the heirs.

One of these statutes, relating to criminal justice, says, that, if any one apprehended for murder, or theft, or robbery, or forgery, or any other felony; confesses his offence before the chief magistrate of the hundred or borough and any lawful men, or if he has made a like confession without being apprehended, he shall not be suffered to deny it afterwards before the king's justices.

By another, a robber, when taken, was to be committed to the custody of the sheriff, or, in the absence of the sheriff, to the nearest castellan, who was to keep him in his custody until he could deliver him to the sheriff.

This parliament did also confirm a law, which has been mentioned in a former part of this work, Vol. ii. p. 259, 260. that no stranger should be lodged for more than one night, in any burgh or town, without being put under pledge.

But the most extraordinary statute here enacted was this; that if any one was arraigned before the king's justices, of murder, or theft, or robbery, or of receiving any such malefactors, or of forgery, or of malicious burning of houses, by the oaths of twelve knights of the hundred, or (when so many knights were not present) by the oaths of twelve free and lawful men, or by the oaths of four men, of every town of the hundred, he was to undergo the trial of the water ordeal, and if convicted thereby, to lose one of his feet, according to the statute made at Clarendon, to which, for the greater rigour of justice, this parliament added, Appendix. that

that he should also lose one hand, and abjure the kingdom, and go out of it within forty days. If acquitted by the ordeal, he was to stay in the kingdom, finding sureties, unless he had been arraigned of murder, or any heinous felony, by the community of the county and of the lawful knights of his country; in which case, though the ordeal had declared him innocent, he was nevertheless to quit the realm within forty days, and take with him his chattels (saving the rights of his lords), and be at the mercy of the king whether he should ever return or not. This statute was to take place from the time when that of Clarendon here confirmed was enacted until the present time, *and as much longer as it should please the king*, in the cases of murder, treason, and malicious burning, and in all the cases above-mentioned, except in small thefts and robberies committed in the time of war, such as stealing horses, or oxen, or things of smaller value.

In considering this law, one is struck with the injustice of sending men to a trial, by which, if condemned, they were to be punished with amputation of limbs and perpetual banishment; and even if acquitted, on a charge of any heinous felony, to be banished for a time, or, if the king pleased, for life. Supposing that some doubt concerning the proof of the innocence of the party, acquitted in this manner, was the cause of this proceeding, so contrary to the ordinary course of law, such doubt should have been equally applied to invalidate the proof of guilt by that trial.

Eadmer,
Hist. Nov.,
p. 48.

We are told, that William Rufus, upon being informed, that about fifty Englishmen, of good quality and fortune, whom he had caused to be tried for killing his deer by the ordeal of hot iron applied to their hands, had all come off unburnt, and consequently acquitted, declared, he would try them

them again, by the judgment of his court, and not by this pretended judgment of God, *which was made favourable or unfavourable at any man's pleasure.* The monk, who relates this, represents it as shewing the impiety of the king; but it only shews that he thought this superstitious method of trying a criminal accusation was fraudulently managed; and so, doubtless, it was; or no man could ever have been acquitted by it. Henry the Second had, perhaps, the same opinion about it, and therefore would not allow such an acquittal to have its full effect: but, if it could not avail to clear a culprit, it ought not to have been effectual to condemn him; as it was by this law, which favours strongly of the barbarism still remaining in those times.

Ordeals by water and fire had been always in use among the English. Mention is made of them in one of the most antient codes of the Anglo-Saxon laws, the statutes of King Ina: and the same modes of trial were customary, long before, in many pagan nations, particularly among the Celtic tribes, who, in their early migrations out of the East, brought with them these superstitions, and spread them over the greatest part of Europe. The adopting of them into the Christian religion is one instance, among many, how strangely the practice of accommodating that faith to superstitions, the most foreign and most abhorrent from it, prevailed in some ages.

Sir H. Spelman has given us, from the antient book of Rochester, a form of prayer and exorcism, used in this kingdom, to endow the water or hot iron with the miraculous power of discovering guilt or innocence in such trials; by which it appears (as also by the statute of king Ina above-mentioned) that the christian clergy interfered (as the heathen priesthood had done) in this pretended

V. Wilkins,
Leg. Inae.

V. Peltoutier, Hist.
des Celtes.

Ex textu
Roffensi.
Spelm.
Gloss.
ORDA-
LIVM.

V. Selden,
Mot. ad
Eadmer. p.
204.

pretended supernatural administration of justice; desiring, doubtless, to gain thereby to themselves a greater reverence from the people. Yet the Roman pontiff, and the canons of several councils, justly condemned and forbid it, as repugnant to the precept, *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*. Their authority by degrees so far prevailed, that King Henry the Third, by an order of council, in the third year of his reign, commanded his judges, *forasmuch as the judgment by fire and water was prohibited by the church of Rome, and it had not been determined, when they set out on their circuits, how persons arraigned of robbery, murder, or other such crimes, should be tried, to keep them in prison under safe custody, but so as not to endanger their lives or limbs; and to cause persons charged with less heinous offences, yet such as would have been triable by fire or water, if it had not been forbidden, to abjure the kingdom*. This was better than banishing them (as was done by the statute of Henry the Second above-mentioned) after the ordeal had cleared them: and from this time forwards, such trials, without any express law having been made to forbid them, (at least, so far as we know) were abolished in England by disuse.

But another species of appeal to what in those days was called the *judgment of God*, continued here many centuries after the ordeal by fire or water: I mean the trial by *duel*. This also was a part of the antient jurisprudence of many barbarous heathen nations, which their conversion to Christianity did not always correct, as it naturally ought to have done. Luitprandus, a king of the Lombards in Italy, says in one of his laws, quoted by Sir H. Spelman, "We are uncertain about the *judgment of God*, and have heard of many persons who have unjustly lost their causes in trials by *battle*. But we are not able to
" abrogate

Gloss. Or-
DALIUM.

“abrogate this *impious law* of the Lombards, “which the custom of our nation has established.” The same complaint might as justly have been made by the kings of many other countries. Several popes condemned this as much as the ordeals by fire and water: but the martial spirit of the people, among whom it was practised, prevailed with great obstinacy over their prohibitions; and a method of judicature obtained a fixed establishment through most parts of Europe, not only in criminal, but also in civil causes, which did the very reverse of what all legislation, and all institutions of orderly government were intended to do, by giving the decision of right and the punishment of offences, not to justice, but to force. The first mention made of it in the laws of this kingdom is in one of William the First, which grants full liberty to any Englishman to appeal any Frenchman, by duel, of theft, homicide, or any other matter, for which a trial by duel, or by the fire ordeal, ought to be granted. And, if the English appellant should choose to proceed by the latter, the Frenchman was not bound to that method of proof, but was to clear himself by the oaths of witnesses according to the law of Normandy. If a Frenchman appealed an Englishman, of the same crimes, the Englishman was to have the option of defending himself either by combat, or by the fire ordeal. And if either party was infirm, and could not or would not maintain his cause by combat, he might procure for himself a legal champion. If the French appelliant was vanquished, he was to pay to the king sixty shillings: and if the Englishman accused would not defend himself by combat, or by witnesses, he was to clear himself by the judgment of God (which here means the ordeal).

See Appendix, from Brompton's Chron. and Selden's Notes to Radmer, p. 193.

There

There are other statutes of this king to much the same effect, which the reader will find in the Appendix to this book: William of Malmſbury tells us, in his history of the reign of William the Second, that William de Hou, being accused of high treason before that king, challenged the accuſer to a duel, and having been vanquiſhed therein, was puniſhed, as guilty, by the loſs of both his eyes, and by caſtration. Another chronicle adds, that the laſt of theſe penalties was inflicted upon him at the deſire of a nobleman, who charged him with having debauched his wife. Of a duel fought in the reign of King Henry the Second, by Henry de Eſſex and Robert de Montfort, an account has already been given. We learn from Glanville, that, when he was grand juſticiary to that prince, the proceedings in the king's court, and before his juſtices in their circuits, on criminal matters, were theſe :

Glanville, l.
xiv. c. i.

If any one was charged with high treason by common fame only, he was either to find proper bail, or be impriſoned: then the truth of the fact was to be enquired into, before the king's juſtices, by various inquisitions and interrogations, and by probable or circumſtantial evidence. If the conjectures were doubtful, ſome making for, and ſome againſt the accuſed, he was to be tried by the ordeal, or wholly acquitted, at the diſcretion of the court. But, if an accuſer appeared, the accuſed was to find ſufficient bail, or be impriſoned; and the accuſer (if he could) was alſo to find ſureties, that he would proſecute his charge; or (if he could not) he was then to be bound to it by his oath alone, as in all other caſes of felony, wherein it was thought proper not to inſiſt on further ſecurity than the oath of the accuſer, for fear of deterring others, by too much ſtrictneſs, from ſuch accuſations. When the ſuit was inſtituted, a day was aſſigned to the parties; on which, the accuſer

accuser declaring, that he had seen, or knew, by some other means proved in court, that the defendant had contrived or done something against the life of the king, or to seduce the realm, or the army, from its allegiance, or had consented to, or counselled, or abetted, such treason, and was ready to make good his charge; the defendant, on the contrary, denying it with all the legal forms; then the controversy was to be determined by a combat between them. The duel being once pledged in the manner above-mentioned, no change could be made by either of the parties in the matter of the charge, but they were to adhere to it in all points, as declared in the court, without addition or diminution, under the penalty, to the party who should in any wise recede from it, of being considered as vanquished, and subject to the legal consequences thereof. Nor could they be reconciled to each other without leave of the king, or of his justiciary.

If the appellant was vanquished, he was to pay to the king a mulct of sixty shillings, to be branded with the infamous name of recreant, and to be disabled from ever being admitted again to bear testimony by duel in any court against any other man. But if the defendant was vanquished, he was to be punished, as those who were convicted by the ordeal, with forfeiture of all his lands and goods from him and his heirs for ever, and either with death, or loss of members, at the will of the king, who, in this and in all pleas concerning felonies, might either wholly pardon or inflict the lesser punishment, as he thought good. To this kind of accusation every freeman of full age, and even a peasant in villenage of the lowest degree was admitted: but no woman could be so in any plea of felony, except in an appeal on the murder of her husband, to which she was an eye-witness,

L. ii. p. 15.

L. xiv.

P. 113, 114.

See also l. i.

c. 2. and

L. xiv. p. 117.

L. xiv. c. 1.

or upon a rape or other injury against her own person.

A man accused of high treason, or any felony, if above sixty years old, or if maimed by a broken bone or a wound, which had taken off, or deeply indented some part of the crown of his head, might decline a duel and be tried by the ordeal of hot iron, if he was a freeman, or by that of water, if a peasant. As this distinction is not made in the above-mentioned statute of Clarendon and Northampton, and we find no mention there of any trial by duel, it may be presumed that the king, who had power to continue or abrogate that law, had abrogated it before Glanville's treatise was written. The reason why such a wound upon the crown of the head, as is described in the passage I have quoted from thence, exempted from a duel, may probably have been that it disabled the party from putting on a helmet, or from bearing so well as his adversary might do a blow received upon it. But, if a miraculous interposition of the Deity was supposed, neither this, nor a broken bone, nor the weakness of old age, ought to have been an objection against bringing any man accused of a crime to this trial; and if human force could be of any avail, the natural event of the combat could not afford any proof of innocence or of guilt. I would also observe, that the danger to the party accusing must have often prevented prosecutions for treason and other heinous crimes. Homicide, burning of houses, robbery, rape, forgery, false coining, and other frauds of the most criminal nature, are mentioned by Glanville as triable in the manner and under the regulations above described. Among these offences he reckons the fraudulent concealment of treasure trove; but takes notice that common fame was not a sufficient ground to expose a man to the ordeal upon a charge of this nature, unless it was proved against him, or he had confessed

L. xiv.

L. xiv. c. i.

in

in court, that he had found in the place where the treasure was said to have been discovered by him, and had taken away from thence, some kind of metal; on which presumption he was bound to purge himself by the ordeal, that he had found and taken away no more.

A distinction is made by Glanville between two L. xiv. c. 3.

kinds of homicide; one called murder, which, according to his definition, is secretly perpetrated, none seeing or knowing of it, except the murderer and his accomplices, with no hue and cry following immediately thereupon; and another, which he calls simple homicide, or manslaughter. With regard to the first of these, no accuser was admitted, if not related in blood to the person murdered, and the nearest relation excluded any other more distant. With regard to the second, it sufficed that the accuser was some way related to the slain, either by consanguinity, or by homage, or by feudal dominion, and that he was an eye-witness of the fact. A person accused of manslaughter, who was followed by a hue and cry, and taken in his flight, upon proof thereof in court by the oaths of his country, was sometimes compelled to clear himself by the ordeal: and one accused by a woman of the death of her husband, was either to appeal in that manner to the judgment of God, or sustain her proof against him; which, I presume, was by oath.

The same election was given in the trial of a Ibid. c. 6. rape: but the plaintiff in that case was presently after the commission of the crime to go to the next town, and make known the wrong done her to persons there of good credit, and shew them her cloaths torn, and the effusion of blood, if there was any; and then do the same to the chief magistrate of the hundred; after which, on her complaint, trial was to be ordered with the forms above-mentioned.

Glanville adds, that a man convicted of a rape could not escape the punishment due to his crime by being willing to marry the woman he had ravished : for thus it would frequently happen, that men of servile condition, by means of one pollution, might contaminate ladies of the most noble birth ; or noblemen might be defiled, and their illustrious families disgraced, by matches with mean women. But it was held, that, before the judgment past, a woman accusing, and a man accused, of a rape, might be reconciled to each other by the means of a marriage, with the leave of the king, *and with the consent of the parents.*

- L. xiv. c. 7. In cases of forgery, Glanville says, a difference was made between forging a private or a royal charter ; one convicted of the latter being punishable as for treason (that is, with death) but the punishment for the former being only loss of members, as in other lesser frauds ; yet always subject to the will and pleasure of the king. He also remarks, that, in all cases of felony, the accused might be bailed, except in homicide, where, for the greater terror, it was otherwise decreed by law. Yet even in that case he might be bailed by the special grace of the king.

Ibid. c. 3.

Wilkins,
p. 229.
See also Appendix.

William the Conqueror (as appears by a charter of his statutes) forbade the putting to death any person for any crime whatsoever ; but ordained that the eyes of the convicted criminal should be plucked out, and the feet or hands cut off, or that he should be castrated, according to the nature and degree of his offence : for which the reason is given in the statute itself, *that his mutilated trunk might remain a living proof of his guilt.*

This charter has no date : but either this statute was posterior to the death of Earl Waltheoff, who was beheaded for high treason in the year 1075, or some subsequent statute had given the king a power to

to make the punishment for that crime either loss of life or loss of members, at his will and discretion. William Rufus unquestionably had by law such a power: for William de Aldney, an accomplice of William de Hou, who (as I have said before) was punished in his members for having conspired against that prince, suffered death for that treason.

Henry the First made a law, that every person who was caught in stealing or robbing, should be hanged. At the same time he punished coiners by the loss of their eyes and castration.

Spelman,
Codex Leg.
Veter. Sax.
tutor. II. I.
Wilkins, p.
304, 305.

It is said that in the latter part of his reign, his love of money inclined him rather to punish offenders by amerciaments and mulcts, than by any corporal pains. During the Saxon times, this had been the general practice, which first arose from a prudent desire in the government to stop by such compositions to the party offended, or to his family and kindred, that dangerous right which the customs of antient Germany, and of other barbarous nations, had given to particulars, a right to revenge their wrongs themselves by force of arms, and to carry on deadly feuds from one generation to another. But, as part of the *weregeld*, or composition for crimes, was paid to the king, avarice continued in a more civilized state of the kingdom what necessity had established in the rude beginnings of it, when the Anglo-Saxon laws were little better in most points than the customs of savages committed to writing. Yet under some of their kings it appears, that certain crimes were capitally punished. By the laws of Athelstan, a man who confessed himself guilty of treason against his lord, or who was convicted thereof by the proof of a triple ordeal, was to be put to death; and the same penalty was assigned to homicide, if so manifest that it could not be denied.

Wilkins,
p. 57.
Leg. Athel-
stani, 4.

Wilkins, p.
65—70

denied. In the collection of laws, made under the reign of the same king, and entitled *Judicia Civitatis Londoniæ*, manifest theft, if what was stolen exceeded the value of twelve Saxon pennies, and the voluntary concealment of a known thief, and the standing by him or defending him by force of arms, are declared to be offences punishable with death. Where the fact was more doubtful, the person suspected was to be tried by the ordeal, and, if convicted, was to lose his life, unless his relations, or his lord, would redeem him by paying the value of his life, and compensating the full price of what he had stolen, and would also become sureties for his future good behaviour. And, if he afterwards thieved, his relations were to deliver him up to the magistrate, and he was to be put to death. By one law of this king, an undeniable theft, above the value of twelve pence, had been declared capital, if the thief was more than twelve years old; but he afterwards, out of pity, (as he says in another statute) changed the age to fifteen. A statute of Edgar declares, that no publick or open robber, nor any one taken in a manifest act of treason against his lord, was to hope for his life at any price. In the constitutions of Æthelred it is said, that, by the law of the northern English, whosoever killed a man within the walls of a church, was to be put to death, and whosoever wounded one within those walls was to lose his hand. By other laws of that king, if any one fought or robbed, in a royal city, or in the neighbourhood thereof, he was to lose his life, unless the king would allow him to redeem it; and, if any plotted against the life of the king, he thereby forfeited his own; but, if the fact was not proved, he might clear himself of the charge, by paying the price of the king's head (for even *that*, in the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, was rated) or by a triple ordeal.

Wilkins,
p. 65.

Ibidem, p.
78. Leg.
Eadgari, 7.

P. 111.

P. 110.

P. 109.

There

There is also a remarkable statute of this king, with relation to the military discipline of the kingdom, which says, that if any man returned from any service to which the king went in person, without his leave, he should lose his life and all his goods; but, where the king was not present, such desertion was to be punished only by a mulct of one hundred and twenty shillings,

Some writers suppose, that the Saxons distinguished as we do between manslaughter and murder; but of this I find no clear proof in any of their laws. It only appears, from those before recited, that in all cases of blood, and other offences there mentioned, they made a great difference between manifest or acknowledged guilt, and what was so far uncertain as to require a trial; which seems to imply some doubt in the legislature of the methods of proof then in use.

A statute of Canute the Dane, when king of England, declares, that house-breaking and burning of houses, and open robbery, and the publick killing of a man, and treason against one's lord, are *inexpiable* crimes, according to human laws: that is, such for which no amerciements could be taken.

In this opinion the Norman kings of England concurred with their Danish predecessors, and carried their rigour yet further. But amerciements were still taken for many lesser offences, of which I will give some instances in the reign of King Henry the Second, that are curious and descriptive of the law and state of those times.

Mauger le Clerc was amerced a hundred shillings for having caused one man to fight two duels in one day: and several others, who were with him in his court, were likewise amerced in proportion to their means.

The county of Somerset was amerced four pounds wanting a penny for having ordered a duel

See Preface
to Fortescu,
de Laubus.
L. A.
See also
Carte.

Leg. Cauti,
61.

Madox, Hist.
of the Ex-
chequer, c.
xiv.

duel in the Hundred Court, which ought to have been in the County Court.

William de Friston was amerced ten marks for having taken cognizance in his court of a robbery, and adjudged a duel thereupon. Ivo, the husband of Emma, was amerced sixty shillings for having withdrawn from a duel on the day when he was to fight. Philip, son of Wiard, and five more, were amerced three marks and a half for having suffered a man, in a trial by the fire-ordeal, to bear the iron twice with only one heating.

Madd, ibidem.

The town of Preston was amerced five marks, for having put a man to the water-ordeal without warrant; and Roger de Chaurea half a mark, for having been concerned in a like trial without view of the king's serjeant. The town of Malden was amerced three marks, and the mayor or bailly, five, for having hanged a robber without such view. Stephen de Mereflet was amerced two marks for a foolish answer in court (*pro stulto responso*). Mauger de St. Albin was amerced half a mark, for having seized a wreck without warrant from the justiciary. William, son of Waldeff, was amerced five marks for refusing to do the work he owed to the king in Banburg castle. Avelina de Ria was amerced two hundred pounds twelve shillings for having caused her son to be knighted while he was the king's ward. (This was because knighthood took him out of wardship: and the greatness of the amercement shews, that, where the king was concerned, such a fraud was esteemed a great offence.)

The city of Worcester was amerced five marks, and the manor of Wikebout two, for a default of proving *engleschery*, when a murder had been committed. It will be necessary to explain what *engleschery* meant, being a remarkable circumstance in our antient law. To prevent the frequent

quent murders of the Danes by the English, the barons of England were sureties to Canute the Great, upon his sending his Danish army back to Denmark, that, when any person was murdered, he should be supposed to be a Dane if he was not proved to be an Englishman by his parents or kindred; and, in default of such proof, if the murderer was unknown, or had made his escape, the township in which the man was slain was to be amerced for it sixty-six marks to the king; or if, by reason of the poverty of the township, that sum could not be raised from thence, it was to be paid by the hundred. This agreement was carried into a law, which, when the Normans had got possession of England, they applied to themselves and all the other foreigners, who had come over with them, under the general name of French; but, by the record here recited, it evidently appears, that amerciaments for default of proving *Engleschery* were not near so high in the times of which I write as under king Canute. Towns and hundreds were amerced for murders of manslughters committed therein, notwithstanding that the slain was proved to be English; of which numberless instances occur in the Rolls, with great differences in the sums. From such general amerciaments, the lands of the royal demesne, and those holden by the queen, and ecclesiastical fees, and lands in frank almoigne, within the precincts on which any mulct was levied, were exempted. The like freedom was granted by charter from the king to several barons and lords of seigneuries; and so was the privilege of having to their own use and profit the amerciaments incurred within their lordships.

A very severe law was made by king Edgar against calumniators, condemning them to have their tongues cut out, or redeem them by paying the

Madox, c.
xiv. sect 6.

Ibidem,
p. 374

Wilkins
Leg. Ead-
gari, 4.

Leg. Cauti
15.
Leg. Ælfre-
di, 28.

the value of their lives; (that is, the compensation at which their lives were rated in the written laws of those days). But the *falsbood* of the report was to be proved by the plaintiff. And this was confirmed by king Canute. There is also a statute of Alfred, which assigns the same punishment to the inventor of a publick false report: (*publicum mendacium*): but whether by this we are to understand every kind of defamation publicly spread, or *false news* to the prejudice of the government or state, I am not quite certain. From the account that is given in Glanville's book of the criminal law in his times, it does not appear that those statutes were then in force.

Madox,
c. xiv.

It has been mentioned in a former part of this work, that a principal branch of the king's incidental revenue arose from mulcts for the breach of forest laws. How high these sometimes were, even in the reigns of good princes, the following instances attest. In the twelfth year of King Henry the Second, the bishop of Salisbury was amerced seventy-five pounds, seven shillings, for taking a *chevereuil* (or roe-buck); and in the twenty-second of that king, Adam de Brus paid a hundred for a similar offence in a forest. If we consider the value of money in those days, these mulcts will appear very grievous: but it must be likewise considered, that Henry took them in lieu of the lives or the members, which the laws of his predecessors, the three first Norman monarchs, had declared to be forfeited by trespasses of that nature. And here I would observe, that a charter of the statutes of King Canute the Great, relating to forests, affirms, that hunting in them had been reckoned among the greater crimes by the old English customs (*ab antiquo*): and by the constitutions there published, the killing of a stag was punished in a freeman by the loss of his liberty, and in a slave by death. But bishops, abbots,

V. Spelman
Gloss. Fo-
RESTA-

abbots, and the king's barons, (or those who held the same rank under the Danish kings of England as the barons under the Norman) if guilty of killing a stag, which these statutes denominate *a royal wild beast*, were to be punished at the king's discretion. For destroying his other game very heavy amerciements were laid on the inferior order of freemen; but liberty was given to the spiritual and temporal nobles to kill any game, except the stag. This privilege was denied by the Norman forest laws, more severe than the former; nor did Henry the Second restore it to the bishops or temporal lords, but only remitted to all offenders in the forest the corporal penalties which those laws had inflicted.

Before I go from the subject of legal proceedings established in those times, it will be proper to mention, that, even in some civil suits, the trial by duel was used under certain regulations; namely, in pleas concerning freeholds of hereditary land by writs of right, or concerning the warranty of such freeholds, and others stated by Glanville, which it will not be necessary to enlarge upon here, except in some circumstances which appear to deserve a more peculiar attention.

In all such trials it was a general rule, that the demandant could not prosecute his suit in his own person, but was to do it by a champion who could be a proper witness of the fact in dispute, from what he had heard, or had seen; whereas the defendant was permitted to choose whether he would maintain his right himself, or by an other fit person. In making his claim, the demandant was obliged to declare, that he was ready to prove it by his freeman, then present; or, in case that any ill should happen to him, by such others as he then should name in court. After the duel was pledged the champion could not be changed, unless he
 who

Glanville,
l. ii. c. 2.

who had undertaken the combat should die a natural death before the suit was concluded; in which case, it was lawful to have recourse to the others who had been named in court, or even, if none had been so named, to find another champion, provided he was one who could be a proper witness of the fact to be tried: but, if the death of the first had been caused by his own fault, no other could be legally substituted to him, and the cause which he should have maintained was lost. The champion on either side might produce in court his own legitimate son, to fight in his stead, but not any other person. In case of the death of such champion, pending the cause, the defendant lost his seisin, where the question was about land, but not his suit, unless the champion had died by his own fault. If either party complained that his adversary's champion was *bired*, and offered to prove it himself by combat against him, or by another who had seen the hire taken, the principal duel was stopt until this had been fought; and, if the champion thus accused, was overcome, the demandant lost his cause, and the champion was punished, if not killed in the duel, by the same penalties that have been before described, as inflicted on the vanquished and recreant champion of an appellant, or accuser, in a criminal prosecution.

The right to a freehold could not be tried by duel, unless the demandant swore, that his father or grandfather had been seized of it in demesne, as of fee, in the time of king Henry the First, or after the coronation of King Henry the Second; and had received profits from it to the value of five shillings, at least, in corn and other produce. It is observable, that, not long before this time, a similar regulation had been established in France of the value of land, the right to which might be
tried

tried by the issue of a duel. The passing over Stephen's reign in the oath above-mentioned was occasioned, I presume, by its being supposed, that no possession acquired during the lawless disorders and civil wars of that reign could give any valid title, if it had not been confirmed by the succeeding prince. On the demand of a freehold made agreeably to the form before recited, the demandant's champion was admitted to maintain his cause, though he had not himself any personal knowledge of the fact in question, provided he could swear, that his father, when dying, had in-joined him, on his duty, if ever he should hear of a law suit concerning that land, to attest what his father had seen or heard, and prove it by combat: whereas in all other cases it was required that the champion should be able to swear upon his own direct knowledge; as (as for example) in trying the right of advowsons, which was to be proved by the evidence of one or more legal witnesses offering to attest by combat, that he or they had seen or heard the demandant present a parson to the living during the period prescribed. In writs of novel disseisin, which were triable also by combat, the limitation of time was after the king's last voyage to Normandy.

A duel might take place between a lord and his tenant concerning services not confessed to be due by the latter, if the former could bring one of his peers to give testimony, and prove it by combat, that he had seen the tenant, or his ancestors, perform those services to the lord, or to his ancestors, for that fief. And, if the tenant was vanquished in such a controversy, he forfeited his right, and that of his heirs, to the whole fief. If, in a suit about land, the demandant alledged, that it belonged to one lord, and the defendant affirmed, that it belonged to another, both lords were summoned

summoned to appear in court, and if the lord of the defendant warranted to him his fief, he (the lord) had the option, either to take the defence of it upon himself, or defend it by his tenant; and the rights of both were secured by either of them vanquishing the champion of the demandant: but, if either was vanquished, the tenant lost his land, and his lord the service from it. If the lord denied his warranty, the tenant might prove it by a witness duly qualified, and ready to fight in his cause, or by other sufficient evidence produced on his part to the satisfaction of the court. If the lord of the demandant avowed his warranty, he had also the choice to maintain his right himself, or entrust it to his tenant; but if he denied it, the tenant, who had called him into court, was at the king's mercy for having set up a false claim. Glanville explains what was meant by being at the king's mercy (*in misericordia regis*) namely, that the offender should be amerced by a jury of the vicinage, but so as not to deprive him of an honourable maintainance according to his rank.

L. ix. c. 2.

L. ii. c. 2.

Debts upon mortgage, or pledges, or promise, if denied, might be likewise proved by duel, where the fact contested was known to the demandant's champion. If sureties for a debt denied their suretyship in the whole or in part, the creditor might proceed against them by duel; and so he might against a debtor who denied a deed or writing which acknowledged the debt, and the seal affixed to it, if he could find a proper witness to maintain them by combat; especially one whose name was inserted in the deed; but, if other deeds, proved to have been given by the debtor, and evidently signed with the same seal, were produced, the cause hereupon was determined against him without any further process, and he was at the king's mercy.

By

By the law of those times, in all sales, the seller and his heirs were obliged to warrant to the buyer, and to his heirs, the thing sold, if a suit arose about it; and, on a denial of such warranty, a duel might be awarded between the two parties, under the rules abovementioned.

The manumission of a villein, denied in court, might be proved by a duel, if one who was present at it would attest it by combat; and so might the fact of certain lands having been granted in dower to a woman, at the door of the church, on her marriage, if the heir of her husband denied it.

All this shews, that in England (however it might be elsewhere) the duel was not allowed in any civil cause, without the oath of one proper and uncorrupted witness, who would hazard his life for the truth of what he swore; nor then, if other clear and unquestionable evidence could be produced. The intention of it was to guard possession and property against false oaths. But the remedy was a sad one. For a wrongful possessor might frequently be secured against a rightful claimant, by the difficulty laid on the latter to find a fit champion, who would maintain his right for him without much danger to himself, and without any profit: or, on the other hand, one of superior skill and strength might be hired to make good a very ill-grounded claim, or very unjust usurpation, so secretly as not to admit of that proof the law required: and, supposing it could be proved, the adverse party might not dare to accuse the offender, at the risk of his own life, or be able to procure another to do it on the same hard conditions.

The great force of these objections to this method of judicature did not escape the attention of King Henry the Second, who, in every civil suit, wherein the demandant could legally prosecute his demand by a duel, allowed the defendant the
choice

- choice of putting himself on the trial of *the grand assise*, which, Glanville says, was a royal benefit conferred on his people by the clemency of that prince, with the advice of his nobles; under which general word, the parliaments of those times were usually described. According to this regulation, which does the greatest honour to Henry the Second, as a wise and humane legislator, the mode of proceeding in contests on the right to a freehold, or on rents or services due from the tenant of a freehold to his lord, was as follows—A writ was first obtained, at the suit of the defendant, to stop the process by duel; and then another was demanded, on the part of his adversary, for the summoning of four knights (or ~~military~~ tenants) of the county and vicinage, ~~to elect~~, upon their oaths, twelve other knights of the same county and vicinage, who might best know the truth, and who were to be sworn to recognise, whether the demandant, or the defendant, had the best right to the land, or other thing in dispute. This writ was directed to the sheriff of the county. To these jurymen the same exceptions might be made as to witnesses in the ecclesiastical courts (that is, according to the rules of the canon and civil laws). When twelve, against whom there was no objection, were chosen, they were summoned to appear before the king, or before his justices, in the county, on a day assigned in the writ. If all the twelve, so elected, declared in court, upon their oaths, that they did not know the truth of the matter in question, or if any of them attested their ignorance of it, recourse was to be had to others in the county, until twelve could be found who were able to decide it upon their own certain knowledge. If all disagreed in their verdict, others were to be added, until twelve at least were unanimous for one of the two parties.
- Each
- L. ii. c. 7.
- C. 8. 9.
- C. 10.
- C. 11.
- L. ii. c. 17.

Each of the twelve was to swear, that he would not say any thing which he knew to be false, or conceal the truth wilfully, on the fact in dispute; and it was required that their knowledge of it should be from their own eyes, or their own ears, or the report of their parents, or such persons whose evidence they were bound to believe no less than the testimony of their own eyes and ears.

It therefore appears, that this jury were not properly judges, but witnesses of the fact they were called to determine; and accordingly, Glanville, in stating the advantages of this method of trial over the other, says, that, as much as the credit of many proper witnesses was of more weight in judgment than the credit of one witness, so much more equitable was this institution than the way of proceeding by duel. He also observes, that it was more merciful, and more expeditious; the excuses (or *essoigns*) allowed in this being fewer than in that; of which *essoigns* an account is unnecessary here. I will only take notice, that, in mentioning the effects of the absence of the parties, he says, that the jury in a grand assise might proceed to make their recognition, though the defendant was absent, when the legal exceptions on his part had been made; but could not do it in the absence of the demandant, because it was a rule of law, that by non-appearance in court a man might lose what he had, but nothing could ever be gained by an absent claimant.

Perjury in a juror was punished, on a legal conviction; or confession in court, by forfeiture of all his goods to the king, and a year's imprisonment at the least, with a perpetual brand of infamy, and incapacity of ever bearing testimony again in any court.

The verdict of the jury in a grand assise was final; as was also the decision of a cause by a

C. 3.

duel in the king's court. If the defendant chose the latter, he could not, after the duel had once been pledged, recur to the former, but was to answer the demand, in every point, by himself or his champion.

C. 6.

In a controversy concerning the inheritance of a freehold, where the defendant chose to put himself on the assise, if the demandant alledged, that he was sprung from the same stock, and his adversary confessed it, the mode of trial was changed, and the cause was determined by enquiring, which of them was nearest in descent to the ancestor from whom the inheritance came. But, if the parentage was denied, the relations were summoned, and, generally, if they agreed in declaring the consanguinity of the parties, it ended the dispute; but, if the defendant pertinaciously contradicted their evidence, the neighbourhood was called in, and their testimony, concurring with that of the relations, decided the question. The same method was taken when the relations disagreed in the testimony they gave. If the court was satisfied that the plea of kindred was false, he who had used it to stop the assise lost his cause.

F. ii. c. 1.
L. xiii. c. 11.

In all proceedings concerning the title to a freehold by writ of right, or *mort d'ancestre*, or of *novel disseisin*, an allegation that the land had in any manner been alienated, either for a time or for ever, was sufficient to stop this species of trial, and put the defendant on another kind of proof. But, on the other hand, the king's charter confirming the possession, or a final concord, made upon it in the king's court, or judgment past in any court, or a *quietus* obtained, or villenage, or bastardy, proved against the demandant, was a bar to his claim. So was likewise a proof that he had been in rebellion against the king; which seems

seems a strange objection, if the guilt of such rebellion had before been pardoned.

A minor could lose no hereditary land, of which he was in possession, before he attained to his age of majority; but a recognition might be made, whether his father, or other ancestor, had held the land in fee, or only in wardship. If the nonage was disputed, the sheriff was to summon, not twelve, but eight jurymen, lawful freeholders of the vicinage, to enquire into that fact. On writs of *mort d'ancestre*, or of *navel disseisin*, the jury summoned were not knights, but freeholders of the vicinage, good and lawful men: nor were they chosen by four knights (or military tenants), as in the causes before-mentioned; but were named by the sheriff. The same method of summons was also used in inquiring, whether land held by the ancestor of a minor was held in fee or in wardship; and concerning the last presentation to livings, and whether land appertained to a lay fee or the church, or was held as a pledge, and not in fee.

Glanville,
l. xiii. c. 13,
4, 15.

C. 2, 3, 7.

C. xiv.

C. 19.
C. 21.
C. 27.
C. 29,
C. 30.

But, though the first introduction of trials by juries, in causes of this nature, which before had been tried by duel, is ascribed to Henry the Second, and may well be esteemed a principal glory of his reign, some vestiges of that method of trial appear among the Anglo-Saxons. A statute of Edgar directs, that in every city three and thirty men, and in small towns and hundreds twelve, or more, if desired, should be elected to give testimony (*ad testimoniam*). This seems to have been a standing jury appointed for the recognition of facts within their own knowledge.

Wilkins,
p. 80.
Leg. Ed-
gari Supple-
mentum.

By a law of King Ethelred pleas were to be held in every wapentake, and twelve senior thanes were to swear, together with the *præpositus* or chief magistrate of the district, that they would

Spelm.
Gloss. ju-
RATA.

Dissert.
Epist. p. 34.
Spelm.
ut *suprà*.

not condemn any innocent man, or acquit any guilty one. Dr. Hickes indeed contends, that these were not a jury, but judges or assessors: nevertheless Sir H. Spelman considers them as a jury, and gives this law as a proof of the antiquity of that method of judicature in England. But it must be remarked, that, from the words of the statute, they appear to have judged or delivered their verdict in criminal matters alone.

Dissert.
Epist. ut *suprà*,
p. 33,
34.

Hickes observes very justly, that they differed much from the juries in Henry the Second's time, which were otherwise chosen, and changed in every cause. He likewise shews, that all the freemen in the Anglo-Saxon county courts, not twelve select jurors determined the causes tried there; of which he gives proofs, in some remarkable cases, even after the conquest. And Spelman himself says, that the use of trials by twelve men before the conquest was rare, and did not prevail, in any great degree, until the reign of Henry the Second.

Gloss. Ju-
RATA.

Bracton, l.
iii. de Co-
rona, c. 18,
19.

It appears from Bracton, that, in the times when he wrote, a person accused of felony, or any other crime, had the choice of being tried either by duel, against the appellant who accused him, or by his country. But Glanville mentions no such option in criminal matters; and from his treatise it seems, that this benefit, granted by Henry the Second's assise, extended only to civil causes enumerated therein.

L. iii. c. 21.

Bracton also takes notice, that if, in a case of felony or breach of the peace, the appellant did not live to prosecute his appeal, or retracted it, or was stopt by some exception against him, the accused person was not freed thereby from the charge, but was to answer to the king for the offence against him in breaking his peace, and to be tried by his country: for, by duel he could not, *because the king did not combat, and had no champion to maintain his cause, but the country*. Whereas it appears,

appears, that when Glanville's treatise was written, if
 a criminal cause could not be prosecuted by duel,
 recourse was had to the ordeals of fire and water ;
 which having been laid aside when Bracton wrote,
 the determination by the country was substituted
 to it. In describing the proceedings before the
 itinerant judges, this latter author says, that out
 of every hundred four knights were elected, who
 were sworn to elect twelve other knights, or (if no
 such could be found) twelve free and lawful men,
 who were sworn to answer truly to what questions
 should be asked of them by the itinerant judges
 on the part of the king, and faithfully to perform
 what these should command in the king's name,
 to the utmost of their power. After which the
 several articles concerning the pleas of the crown,
 upon which they were to answer, were read over
 to them, and they had secret injunctions to apprehend
 all persons suspected of any crimes in the
 hundred or wapentake, to which they belonged ;
 or, if they could not do it, to give the names of
 the persons lying under such suspicion to the
 sheriff of the county, that he might apprehend
 them in order to a trial. This jury, with respect
 to the mode of election, resembled that described
 in the treatise of Glanville for the trial of civil
 suits ; but it seems to have been constituted, not
 to try any cause, but to accuse and to bring male-
 factors to justice. A jury of twelve lawful men
 of the vicinage is also mentioned by Glanville, as
 being used in his time to make inquisition and
 proof, upon their oaths, whether a person had died
 in the crime of usury : for which, when so proved,
 his goods and chattels, wheresoever found, were
 forfeited to the king, and his land of inheritance
 to the lord, or lords, of whom he held. But no
 usurer, though accused by publick fame in his
 country, could be tried, during his life, for that
 offence ;

Bracton,
l. iii. c. 1.

L. vii. c. 16.

Glanville,
l. vii. c. 16.

Bracton, l.
iii. c. 22.

offence; it being presumed he might repent before his death; which if he did, his land and goods were saved. This was a singular part of the law of those times; and Glanville speaks of the jury, employed in this inquest as making others for the crown; but he does not say what they were. I presume they were such as arose from accusations, not made by appeal, but by indictment on the ground of publick fame, which are mentioned by Bracton as usual in his time. He likewise speaks of four townships being added, on these occasions, to the jury of twelve men; and says, they were all sworn *to tell the truth* on the matters laid to the charge of the persons so accused, and that their verdict was final. But neither in him, nor in Glanville, do I meet with any jury which was to judge upon evidence given by others, as all our juries have since done. It is easier to see the necessity of their being unanimous, when they were summoned, not as judges, but witnesses of a fact, than under that constitution of them which afterwards took place, and still remains. Nevertheless it is certain, that whatever difference may have been in the methods of proceeding, whether judgment was given by all the freeholders who attended in court, or by a select number; the right confirmed by Magna Charta, *that every freeman shall be tried by the judgment of his peers*, was very antient in England.

Glanville,
l. xii. c. 7.

Appeals were made, by writs of right, from the courts of barons and lords of manors to the county courts, on complaint of a defect of justice, which was to be proved by the oaths of the plaintiff himself, and two others who had seen or heard the proceedings, in the presence of four legal knights, or more, of the county, whom the sheriff, who presided in the county court, was to summon. Suits were likewise transferred from the above-mentioned courts to this, on complaint of the

the vassals, that their lords demanded of them such customs or services as they by right were not bound to, or more service, than was due, and for various other causes, which it would be too tedious to enumerate here. From the county court, in some cases, suits were brought to the king's court, at the mediation of the county court itself (*mediante comitatu*) says Glanville. Glanville, l. xii. c. 9, et sequent' ad 21. C. 1.

By the same authority we are told, that if, in the court of any of the king's barons, there should arise such a doubt concerning a cause, as that the court should not be able to decide it, the king was obliged, by the right he owed to his barons, to let the cause be brought into his court, and give the baron, to whom the difficulty occurred, the assistance and advice of the learned and skilful judges there; which having obtained, he (the baron) might return the cause back again, to be finally determined.

This was, doubtless, of great use to the justice of those courts, where, without such assistance, the ignorance of the judges would have frequently prejudiced the right of the suitors.

Sir Matthew Hale has observed, in a passage before cited, that a writ of *false judgment* was often brought, in the times of which I write, before the king or his chief justice, against the inferior rural courts; and, if the complaint was found just, the members of those courts were considerably amerced. (Which also appears by the Rolls). But such amercements were not all they had to fear: for Glanville says, that a court accused of having judged falsely (that is, not agreeably to the evidence given), was bound to maintain its judgment by duel, on the appeal of the party who conceived himself to be injured; yet not against him, but his champion, who in this (as in all the cases before-mentioned) was required to be one

one that could properly be admitted as a witness of the fact. Glanville makes it a question, whether the court could defend its cause by a stranger, which he does not quite deny, but says it was most properly to be done by the person who had given the judgment. If the court was convicted, the lord thereof lost for ever his right to hold it, besides being amerced, with all the other members of it, according to his and their means. If the plaintiff failed in his proof he lost his suit, though the judgment complained of had been only with regard to some incidental point.

Besides the above-mentioned trials by combat before the king's justices, there were others before the constable and the marshal, which were granted *for purgation of military honour, or when the appeal was upon matter disgraceful or dishonourable to nobility* (as Mr. Selden expresses himself in his treatise *De Duello*).

Gloss.
CAMPUS.

The proceedings in this court, which was called the court of chivalry, and judged by the law of arms, are best shewn by a formulary drawn up in the reign of Richard the Second, and presented to that king, according to his orders, by his uncle Thomas de Woodstock; which Spelman, in his Glossary, has given at large. It contains the whole code of this kind of jurisprudence, unknown to the Greeks or the Romans, and arising from notions that did not exist among them. Thomas de Woodstock composed it, not merely from his own observation or knowledge, but from the report of the oldest and most experienced knights in the English court at that time. He says, that the power of appointing these combats, which were only granted when other proof was wanting, belonged to the constable, *as vicar general to God and the king*. On the day assigned, the king himself was to be present in the lists, seated upon a high

high throne, on the lowest step of which sat the constable and the marshal, as judges of the court. These afterwards received the oaths of the parties, whereby, among other things, they swore, *that they had no stone of virtue, nor herb of virtue, nor charm of any kind, to help them in the combat.* The offensive arms, which the court permitted them to use; were long and short swords, and daggers: the defensive were left to their choice. The king (and he alone) might part the combatants, and put an end to the combat, which otherwise could only be ended by the death of one of the parties, or his yielding himself vanquished; nor were any champions allowed in any of the trials before this court, from which, rather than from those in the ordinary courts of law, the modern custom of duelling, *for the reparation of honour*, appears to have sprung; as other courts of the same nature were established in France, and many other parts of Europe. But these combats had the sanction of a legal authority, which the modern duels have not; and this benefit arose from them, that they prevented the mischiefs of private revenge for those injuries, or offences, which affected the honour of the nobles and gentry, and kept a form of public justice and public magistracy presiding over the effects of such quarrels, which could not easily have been stopt by any other means. They likewise helped to support the martial spirit of chivalry, which the law and policy of those times encouraged, for good purposes, in those orders of men, to whom the defence and glory of the nation were principally entrusted. The use of them was brought into England by the Normans, who, in the countries from whence they originally came, had been long accustomed to them, as appears from the ancient laws of the people of Scandinavia, collected by Stiernhook in his treatise *de jure*

L. i. c. 7.
See also Robertson,
Hist. of the
Emperor
Charles V.
L. i. p. 291,
292.
De Duello.
Snelman,
Gloss. ut
supra.

jure Sueconum et Gothorum vetusto, and from other authorities. But, besides points of honour, and disputes about coats of arms (which were also tried in this court) it had cognizance of appeals for treasons committed beyond sea, which, Mr. Selden observes, in his treatise on this subject, *were reme- diless by the old custom of England*. These appeals were decided, as the others were, by duel, be- tween the accuser and accused. The vanquished party (as we learn from the authority of Thomas de Woodstock, before cited) was, by the custom of the court, to be stript of his arms in the lists, and dragged out of them by horses to the place of punishment, and there beheaded and hanged; the constable giving the order, and the marshal taking care of the execution thereof.

This was different from the practice in trials by appeals for the same offence of high treason before the king's justices, in which the appellant, if van- quished, was not punished by death; and Thomas de Woodstock observes, that no distinction was made here between the accuser and accused, *be- cause* (says he) *the rules of right and equity and the law of arms require that the appellant, if vanquish- ed, should incur the same punishment as the defend- ant would do in the same state*. He adds, that, if the king should take the quarrel into his own hands, and stop the combat, in order to command an agreement between the parties, the constable and the marshal were to bring them before him; and, when he had declared his will to them, they were to be led by those officers to another part of the lists, armed as before this arrest, and in the same manner conducted out of the lists, with great care that neither of them should go one step before the other, because, in this and in all the other causes here tried, he who went first out of the lists was dishonoured.

More

More particulars might be mentioned concerning these proceedings; but it is enough to add here, that this court having encroached on the other courts of the kingdom, it was declared, on the grievous complaint of the commons, by an act of the thirteenth of Richard the Second, *that no cause which could be tried by the common law of England should be triable there*; within which bounds, I conceive, it had been kept in the age of which I write.

Before I conclude this account of the criminal law of England in the reign of Henry the Second, it will be proper to mention, that there is, in the second year of that king, a disbursement of thirteen shillings and four pence set down in the accounts of the sheriff of London, for the purchase of a house to burn a robber in, (*pro und domo ad comburendum unum latronem*). Madox, Hist. of the Exchequer, c. x. p. 255. Mag. Rot. 2 H. II.

It is strange that a house should be wanted for this purpose, instead of a pile of faggots; nor does it appear from any other evidence, that burning was then the punishment of a robber: yet it might be inflicted by the king's special order, on account of particular circumstances of guilt in the case of this man; perhaps because he had set fire to a house, with intention to rob it, and had burnt the people in it. For the *lex talionis* was anciently esteemed in this kingdom a good rule of justice; and it was one of the faults of the English constitution, during the reign of this prince, that penalties were uncertain and variable at his pleasure. But it is worthy of notice, that neither in the records nor the histories of those times do we find the least trace of *torture* having been used for the discovery of high treason, or any other crime, before judgment was given, or, afterwards, for the purpose of forcing a confession from the person convicted.

Of

Of the judicature of parliament, and how it was exercised in the trial of a peer, some account has been given in relating the proceedings against Anselm and Becket. It is often so confounded, by the writers of those days, with that of the king's court, as to make it hard to distinguish the one from the other, or know the separate bounds of each. The king sat in both, and heard causes; but in the cases above-mentioned, where the prosecution was criminal, and at the suit of the crown, he did not give judgment. It seems that in others he did, conjointly with the peers, or the judges of his court. The general custom of those times, for kings to administer justice to their people in their own persons, might have some good effects for the protection of weak against powerful subjects; but not being well consistent with the freedom and impartiality of judicial proceedings, it has been wisely laid aside, and the sovereign is supposed in all his courts of justice to act by his judges, who exercise his power according to the laws, and according to their oaths.

During the interval between the parliament of Clarendon and that of Northampton, Henry the Second made a law, which deserves to be mentioned with particular praise, among the many beneficent acts of this reign. It has been said, in a former part of this work, that this prince had, soon after his coming to the crown, revived a statute of his grandfather Henry the First, which enacted, that if, out of any wreck on his coasts, one man had escaped alive to shore, the whole cargo should be saved to the benefit of the owners. He now further extended the humanity of this law, declaring, that if, on the coasts of the English sea, or of Poitou, or of the Isle of Oleron, or of Gascony, any ship should be distressed or endangered, and no man escape from thence alive, yet if any *beast* should escape, or be found therein alive,

See Appendix to this book.

alive, the goods should be put by his bailiffs, or the bailiffs of those on whose lands the ship was driven, into the custody of four men of good repute, to be restored to the owners, if claimed by them within the term of three months. This was published, as an act of grace from the crown, in the form of a royal charter, which the reader may see in the Appendix to this book, transcribed from Rymer's collections. T. i. p. 36. I conjecture that the reason why wrecks on the coasts of Normandy and Bretagne are not mentioned therein, was, that these were included in the general description of *the coasts of the English seas*: or, that a law to this purpose had been made before in those countries. In the preamble it is said, that the king had granted this boon *for the salvation of his soul, and the souls of his ancestors and heirs*. It was indeed a far more meritorious and salutary work, than the pilgrimage he made, about the same time, to Becket's tomb, or the stripes he endured, or the gifts he offered there. The best atonement a king can make for sin is the doing of good to mankind.

The End of the FOURTH BOOK.

THE LAST BOOK
 OF THE
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 LIFE
 OF
 King Henry the Second.

HOWEVER agreeable it may have been to the pride of the young king of England, that, in all acts of state within that realm, he was joined with his father, and whatever advantage he might have derived from being taught how to govern, by thus conducting, with him, and according to his wise instructions, the whole administration of government there, while they continued together; yet the being so constantly under the eyes of that monarch seemed to him a confinement and constraint on his actions, from which he secretly wished to be set free. Some of his courtiers, who thought the presence of his father an impediment to their views of interest or ambition, concurred with him in this wish; to
 compass

compass which, he pretended a pious intention of going in pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. Henry, penetrating his motives, or apprehending bad consequences from such a separation, withstood his importunity by remonstrances and entreaties: but, when he found him immoveably fixed in his purpose, lest too obstinate a resistance to an act of devotion should be deemed an impiety, or because he was persuaded that his son's peace of mind could not otherwise be restored, he consented to his going, and permitted the young queen to accompany him into France.

Benedict.
Abb.
ad ann.
1176.

While a contrary wind, which lasted several days, detained them at Portsmouth, their brothers, Richard and Geoffry, landed at Southampton, on Good Friday, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, and went the next day to the palace of Winchester, where their father was preparing to celebrate, with his nobles, the Easter festival. Young Henry, leaving Portsmouth, came also thither, to meet them, and to attend the great council, in which foreign affairs, particularly those relating to the territories they held in France, were the principal subject of deliberation, and seemed to require his presence.

The demolition of the castles belonging to the rebels in Aquitaine and Bretagne, which their father had committed to Richard and Geoffry, in the preceding summer, had been executed in Bretagne with little or no opposition; but in Guienne, the strong fort of Chatillon upon Agen, had been held out against Richard, by Arnaud de Bauville, and stood a siege of two months; after which his further progress was stopt by a league of many powerful lords in the dutchy of Aquitaine, who combined to resist him. He therefore asked his father's aid for the carrying on of a war, to which his own strength was not equal. That monarch, desirous,

Idem ibi-
dem.

desirous, for many evident reasons, to engage his eldest son, as well as the two younger, in a quarrel of this nature with the factious associates of their late rebellion, prevailed on young Henry to defer the performance of his intended pilgrimage until the peace of Aquitaine should be settled, and to aid his brother Richard in subduing these nobles. For this purpose, he appointed a body of troops to be under his command, and giving money to Richard, impowered that prince to make levies of volunteers, not only in his own dutchy, but likewise in all the circumjacent provinces. Thus was raised a great number of mercenary forces, which Richard led, with an ardour, as if he deemed the cause his own, against the rebels in Poitou, and, about Whitsuntide, defeated an army of Brabanters, hired by them to oppose him: after which he took a castle belonging to Aymar, the viscount of Limoges, on the frontier of that province, and then, within a few days, the capital itself. From thence he went to Poitiers, soon after the festival of St. John the Baptist, to meet his brother Henry, who had loitered at Paris, in the court of his father-in-law, from the end of April until that time. They marched together to besiege a fort in Angoulême, which they took in less than a fortnight; but, this being done, the young king, who was not fond of the service, returned to Poitiers. Richard, nevertheless, continued the war with the same alacrity as before. He quickly made himself master of another castle belonging to the viscount of Angoulême, and thus opened his way to the capital of that province, where the earl himself and his son, with the viscounts of Chabannes, Ventadour, and Limoges, were all shut up. Within the term of six days he compelled them to surrender the town to him, and their persons to the mercy of his royal father.

Five

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1176.

Five other strong places, belonging to the earl of Angouleme, in those parts, were also delivered up, in consequence of the articles of the capitulation concluded with that lord.

Having so gloriously suppressed this insurrection, the victorious duke sent his prisoners to the king, his father, who, much pleased with this instance, both of his filial obedience and military prowess, returned them back to him; but ordered them to be kept in his custody until such time as he himself should come over into France. It seems indeed that the generous nature of Richard was touched with the kindness his father had shewn him in their reconciliation, and sincerely desired to atone for the past by his present and future conduct. But other sentiments began now to prevail again in the mind of his elder brother Henry,

Benedict.
Abb ad ann.
1176.

or to discover themselves, after having been forcibly kept down and concealed during his stay in England. For, on his return to Poitiers, he received in his court, and admitted to a close familiarity with him, many French and Norman knights, who had been of his party in the late intestine war, and who, he knew, were particularly odious to his father. Adam de Chirkedun, a chaplain to the archbishop of York, whom that monarch had chosen to serve him as chancellor in the absence of another, appointed to the office, disliking this intimacy, and perhaps suspecting much worse than what really passed among them, wrote a letter to Henry full of grievous accusations of his young master's conduct, and the wicked designs of these men. By their vigilance it was seized, and brought to that prince. Adam, being apprehended, and examined before him, did not deny that he wrote it, but pleaded the oath of allegiance he had taken, and duty to his sovereign. On this confession the young king assembled his council, and demanded their advice

Benedict.
Abb.
Brompton,
ad ann.
1176.

what to do with a traitor, who, being trusted with his secrets, had endeavoured to incense his father against him. The general sentence was, (if we believe some historians who wrote in those days) that he ought to be put to death: but the bishop of Poitiers remonstrated to them, without trying to excuse or extenuate the offence, that the offender, being a clergyman (though only in deacon's orders), could not be judged by laymen.

Benedict.
Abb.
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1176.

The king, after long silence, commanded his officers to lead him out of the court, and whip him through all the streets and alleys of the city, proclaiming him a traitor: after which they were ordered to carry him into Normandy, scourging him in the same manner through every town, in their way to Argenton, where they were to leave him in prison. This arbitrary and cruel sentence was executed upon him with most barbarous rigour; which as soon as King Henry, the father, was informed of, he immediately dispatched four knights of his household, to require of his son, that the prisoner should be sent, without delay, to him. He was sent, but in bonds: nor did Henry set him free, but committed him to the custody of an English abbot, until he himself should determine, with the advice of his council, what ought to be done with him. We neither know what opinion the council gave upon it, nor what became of the prisoner after this time. One should have thought that the king, for whose service he appears to have drawn on himself all this mischief, would not only have freed him as soon as he came over, but have made him amends for the injuries he had suffered, by some honourable promotion. There must certainly have been something, unexplained by the writers who mention this affair, that prevented Henry from acting as he naturally would have done, if
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the only crime alledged against this man, whom he had placed about his son, had been revealing to him such secrets of his master, as could not be concealed without a violation of the higher duty and fealty, incontestably owing from the servants of that prince to their sovereign and to his! Possibly there might appear in the intercepted letter marks of malice and falshood, which could not be justified without a further enquiry. But whatever Henry thought of Adam de Chirkedun, he could not be pleased with the conduct of his son, and the uneasiness which this caused must have lessened the joy he would otherwise have received from a most desirable match, offered to him this year, for the princess Jane, his daughter, with William the Second, king of Sicily, and of all that is now called the kingdom of Naples.

This prince was of a family, the exaltation of which, from a private condition to so potent a monarchy, is a very important part of the history of the Normans during the times of which I write. I shall therefore give a short account of the rise and progress of it; as falling in with the general design of this work.

In the year one thousand and thirty-seven, William Drogon, and Humphrey, sons of Tancred earl of Hauteville, who, two years before, had come out of Normandy into the service of a Lombard prince of Salerno, with a band of three hundred men at arms, went from thence, at the head of these valiant adventurers, into the pay of Manasses, a general of the Greek emperor, Michael the Paphlagonian, sent by that prince to attempt the recovering of Sicily out of the hands of the Saracens, by whom it then was possessed. With their help, and by their extraordinary valour, this commander took Messina, besieged Syracuse, and defeated an army of Saracens under the walls of

V. Giannone Hist. di Napoli, t. i. Baronii Annal, & Hist. Byzantin. Ann. Comnen. & Nicetas.

that city : but ill usage, which the Normans were unaccustomed to bear without revenge, made them enemies to the Greeks ; and, having found a pretence to return into Italy with a passport from Manasses, they persuaded their countryman, the count of Averſa, to join his forces with their's and ſubdue all Apulia, which the Greeks, employed in Sicily, had left deſtitute of troops. Averſa was a city built on a territory about eight miles from Naples, which had been granted to Rainolf, the chief of a former band of Norman adventurers, for ſervices done to Sergius, duke of Naples. In conſequence of this league, and after many brave actions, like thoſe which the books of chivalry recount of their fabulous knights, William de Hauteville, the eldeſt ſon of Earl Tancred, was declared, in the year one thouſand and forty-three, earl, or count, of Apulia, without any dependance, either on the Greek emperor, or on the German, though the ſovereignty of that province was claimed by both. He died in the year one thouſand and forty-fix, and was ſucceeded in his new-acquired dominion by Drogon, his next brother. Soon after this event, the emperor Henry the Second coming into thoſe parts with a formidable army, Drogon ſought his protection, and accepted from him the inveſtiture of his county. But the Greek emperor, informed of this combination between the Normans and Germans to uſurp his rights, and unable to reſiſt it by force of arms, ſent great offers to Drogon, and other chiefs of the Normans, if, leaving Italy, they would go and ſerve him in Aſia againſt the king of Perſia. But his miniſter, not ſucceeding in the negotiation with them, uſed the money and rich preſents, brought over for them, in bribing the inhabitants of the cities they governed to maſſacre them all. The firſt victim
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to this base conspiracy was earl Drogon; and more Normans were murdered in different parts of Apulia than had fallen during all their warfare in that country. But a small body of them under the conduct of Humphrey, a younger brother to Drogon, overcame these assassins, and recovered the whole province, the government of which Humphrey took, and severely revenged his brother's death. His forces being repaired by recruits out of Normandy, and by a number of Frenchmen, who, returning from pilgrimages made to the holy land, often passed through his towns, he endeavoured to conquer Calabria from the Greeks, as well as Apulia; which alarming the jealousy of the court of Rome, Pope Leo the Ninth obtained from the German emperor, Henry the Second, to whom he was a near kinsman, some auxiliary troops, and, raising others in Italy, formed a great army, which he himself led in person to exterminate the Normans. They sued for peace on condition of defending the territories of the see of Rome against all other powers: but their offers were refused, and a battle was fought in the year of our Lord one thousand and fifty-three, which they won against numbers much superior to theirs, and took the pope himself captive. He expected the worst usage from conquerors so provoked by extreme hostilities on his part, and who had been falsely represented to him as cruel barbarians, without piety, without mercy; but they treated him with great kindness, paying him all the veneration which their religion supposed to be due to the vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth. This induced him, not only to authorise their possession of the conquests they had made, but to encourage them to proceed in extending their limits to the prejudice of their neighbours. Yet after his death, which soon followed this agreement,

agreement, the two succeeding popes, apprehensive of their power, formed projects against them; but while these were caballing, the conquest of Calabria was successfully prosecuted by the brave Robert Guiscard, another son of earl Tancred, who, before Drogon's decease, had come into Apulia, and to whose valour the victory over Pope Leo had principally been owing. Humphrey died in the year one thousand and fifty-six, on which event Robert Guiscard took the government of all his brother's dominions, not as guardian to the eldest of two infant sons, left to his care by that lord, but pursuant to a compact he had made with his brother concerning the succession. Three years afterwards, having gained possession of Reggio, the capital of Calabria, he assumed the title of *Duke of Apulia and Calabria*, with the consent of his vassals.

V. Autores
citatos ut
supra.

About the same time, the principality of Capua was conquered from the Lombards by Richard, count of Averſa. Pope Nicholas the Second was very uneasy at the rapid encrease of the greatness of the Normans in the neighbourhood of the ecclesiastical state. Pretending, therefore, that Troja, a city built by the Greeks in the year one thousand and twelve, which Robert lately had taken, belonged to the territory of the see of Rome, he determined the cause, not by evidences or arguments to prove his claim, but by lancing the thunders of excommunication against the adverse party. In that age, the greatest princes stood in awe of those thunders; and Robert feared them the more, on account of the pretensions (whether well or ill founded) of his brother Humphrey's eldest son, which had lately been abetted by many of his subjects. He, therefore, agreed to hold Troja, and all his dominions, in vassalage to the pope, and by the payment of a moderate annual

annual tribute : for which Nicholas gave him, in perpetual fee, not only the dutchies of Apulia and Calabria, but (what is still more extraordinary) the kingdom of Sicily, which neither of them possessed. In the oath to his new lord, Robert stiled himself, *duke of Apulia and Calabria by the grace of God and St. Peter, and with the assistance of both, future king of Sicily*. The pontiff in reality parted with nothing; but gained to his fee, by this grant, some encrease of revenue, a strong guard of brave foldiers, and the sovereignty of countries belonging to the emperors of Constantinople, who denied the supremacy of the bishops of Rome. The principality of Capua was likewise confirmed to Richard, count of Averſa, on condition of fealty to the apostolic ſee, though the Lombard princes, from whom it had been taken unjustly, never had held it as vassals under that ſee, but had acknowledged the ſovereignty of the emperors of Germany, ſucceſſors to Charlemagne. Yet, notwithstanding the defect of right in the donor, the inveſtitures granted by the pope to theſe Normans, were of great uſe to them; for they drew upon any prince who ſhould dare to moleſt them in theſe poſſeſſions, now *ſacred*, the ſpiritual cenſures of Rome, not leſs feared by the ignorant bigotry of thoſe times from their being undeſerved.

Robert Guiſcard, thus ſupported by the authority of the church, invaded Sicily in conjunction with his younger brother, Roger, another of the twelve ſons of Tancred de Hauteville, whoſe two marriages had produced a race of heroes. The Saracens in that iſland had recovered Meſſina from the Greeks: but a war of twelve years, made on them now by the Normans, far braver than the Greeks, ſo broke their force, that, on condition of enjoying what was not denied to them, a free and public

V. autores
citatos ut
ſuprà.

public exercise of their religion, they submitted quietly to the Government of Roger de Hauteville, who received from Duke Robert, the investiture of Sicily with the title of count, in the year of our Lord one thousand and seventy-two.

While this conquest was making, other enterprises, in Italy, had, at different times, employed the arms of the duke, and called him thither in person, particularly the sieges of Otranto and Bari, both which cities he took. That of Amalphi, and the great principality of Salerno, were also gained by him from Gisolfo the Second, a prince of Lombard extraction, who, being forced to take refuge in the ecclesiastical state, drew on Gregory the Seventh, his friend and protector, the enmity of the Normans; but this quarrel was made up by that pontiff's concluding an agreement with Robert, to share between them all the territories of Pandolf the Sixth, the last prince of Beneventum, lately deceased without heirs; Gregory taking the city, to which he had no title, and leaving the principality in the hands of the duke, who had only that of conquest.

It was happy for the pope that concord with Robert was thus renewed and cemented! for, before the end of seven years, being closely besieged in the castle of St. Angelo by the emperor Henry the Fourth, he would certainly have fallen into his enemy's hands, if he had not been succoured by his vassal, the duke, who forced Henry to retire with all his troops out of Rome, and brought Gregory back in triumph to the Lateran palace.

The danger that the imperial power of the Germans should be re-established in Italy, to the prejudice of the Normans, having thus been removed, Robert returned to a war against another empire, which the exigence above-mentioned had obliged him to quit, in the year one thousand
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and eighty-four, when great victories gained, and conquests made on the coasts of Epirus and Illyria, gave him reasonable hopes that the throne itself of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus might be the prize of his valour. Even during his absence, the glory of his arms had been carried still higher by his eldest son Boamond, to whom he had left, on his sudden departure, the chief command of his forces. But the desertion of several barons of France, joint-adventurers with these princes, whom want of money to pay the bands they led, and large offers made to them on the part of Alexius, seduced to his service, occasioned the loss of almost all that the father and the son had acquired. To repair this misfortune, Robert drew to his standard all the chivalry of Italy: and, in passing the Adriatic gulph, overcame the Venetians, whose fleet, in confederacy with that of Alexius, attacked him there: but, soon after this victory, he died of a fever.

William of Malmſbury, tells us, that William L. iii. de Willielmo. the conqueror animated and roused his own courage by calling to mind the actions of this prince, and used to say, "*It would be a shame to him, if one who in nobility was his inferior should excel him in valour.*" From this, and other passages in contemporary writers, it seems that the pedigree of the family of Hauteville from the first dukes of Normandy, though maintained by Giannone, and other modern historians, was unknown in those days.

On the decease of Duke Robert, in the year V. autores citatos ut supra. one thousand and eighty-five, Roger, his son by a daughter of the prince of Salerno, succeeded to him in all his Italian dominions; and the count of Sicily, Robert's brother, reigned over that island, as an independant state. The only portion left to Boamond by his father was a remnant of the conquests he had won from the Greeks:

Greeks: but he claimed to inherit Apulia and Calabria by right of primogeniture. His illegitimacy indeed was a bar to that claim; his father having been divorced from his mother on account of near kindred: yet the customs of the Normans, not unfavourable to bastards, might have removed that objection, if the count of Sicily had not declared for Roger, which added so much force to the friendly intercessions of Pope Urban the Second, that Boamond was persuaded to accept of two cities in lieu of all his demands. The concord of the family was thus so well restored, that, in the year one thousand and ninety-six, Amalphi having rebelled against the duke, Boamond served him in person, and his uncle brought a great army, in which were twenty thousand Saracens, out of Sicily, to his aid. But while these confederates were besieging Amalphi, the first crusade was set on foot; and Urban the Second exhorting all the soldiery of Europe to enlist, themselves in that service, the cross was taken by Boamond and his nephew Tancred, who went from thence together into Asia, where they both performed great exploits, and where Boamond gained the principality of Antioch, a noble acquisition which he kept until his death, and left to his descendants. The enthusiasm of the holy war having also drawn away many more of the forces that beleagured Amalphi, the town was delivered, by this fortunate incident, beyond all hope, and remained some years independent. But amends was made for this loss to the family of Hauteville, in Italy, by their acquiring a sovereignty over Capua, from which city the inhabitants had lately driven out Richard, count of Averfa, who, being restored by the aid of the count of Sicily and his nephew, did homage for it to both.

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In the year eleven hundred and one, the count of Sicily, who had taken the title of *great count*, died, and left to the care of Adelais, his wife, and Robert of Burgundy, his son-in-law, the government of that island during the infancy of his son. Ten years afterwards, the two dutchies of Apulia and Calabria, by the decease of Duke Roger, descended quietly, with all their dépendances, to his son Prince William de Hauteville, who did nothing very memorable, and died without issue, in the year eleven hundred and twenty-seven. The branch of Robert Guiscard being extinct in him, his cousin Roger, count of Sicily, immediately, on the first intelligence of his death, passing over to Salerno with seven ships of war, took possession of that city, and of all his other dominions. The haste he made to do this, without waiting for any investiture from the pope, or even asking his leave, gave great umbrage and offence to Honorius the Second, whose anger he vainly endeavoured to appease by the offer of two cities, and of holding the rest under fealty to his fee. The policy of Rome not desiring so potent a vassal, the pontiff would hear of no terms; but, pretending that the late duke, by a supposed will and testament, which was never produced, had left all his dominions and possessions to St. *Peter*, used the utmost force of his spiritual and temporal arms, assisted by those of the princes of Capua and Bari, whom he had drawn to his party, for the support of that claim. Yet, all proving too weak, he soon gave the two dutchies of Apulia and Calabria to be held by this prince as his predecessors had held them under former pontiffs. The dutchy of Amalphi, which had also submitted to Roger, was not included in this grant, nor the principality of Salerno; because the fee of Rome had some pretensions to them, which the
Roman

V. autores
citatos
ut supra.

Roman pontiffs would not expressly give up, though unable to maintain or prove their right. But Roger possessed them undisturbed, and, on the decease of Honorius, in the year eleven hundred and thirty, obtained, in return for acknowledging Anaclet the Second as pope, a bull from that pontiff, which added to the territories, Honorius had granted, the principality of Capua, and dutchy of Naples. Robert, prince of Capua, had declared for the anti-pope, Innocent; and, as he was a feudatory of the see of Rome, Anaclet, thinking him guilty of an act of high treason, gave the fief he had forfeited in consequence of that act to his own adherent, Roger: but on what grounds or shew of right he likewise granted him Naples which belonged to the Greek empire, and had never been bound by any homage or fealty to the see of Rome, it is difficult to discover. The name of king, which alone seemed wanting to gratify this prince's ambition, was also given by this bull; the Roman pontiffs now arrogating to themselves that power of constituting kingdoms, which the German emperors claimed as a special prerogative, annexed to their dignity. Anaclet granted to Roger, his heirs, and successors, *the crown of the realm of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria*, and the other provinces before-mentioned, to be held of the see of Rome, by an anual tribute of six hundred *schifati*, a golden coin of those days: and the bull having declared that Sicily should be deemed *the head of the kingdom*, he was crowned at Palermo, by the hand of a legate. In the year eleven hundred and thirty-five, he drove the prince of Capua out of his principality, and put it under the government of one of his own sons, who held it in fee. He likewise attacked Naples; but while he was employed in besieging that city, Lotharius the Second, whom Innocent

Innocent had crowned emperor of the West at Rome, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-three, being called by that pontiff, returned into Italy in the year eleven hundred and thirty-six, and, with the help of the Pisans not only constrained the new-made king of Sicily to raise his siege, but took from him almost all his Italian dominions; which, nevertheless, he recovered, on the retreat of the emperor into Germany, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-eight, during the course of which, both that prince and Anaclet died. The next summer, Pope Innocent, now fixed in his see without any competitor, led an army in person against a fort in Apulia, belonging to Roger, whom he had excommunicated; and, in retiring from thence, on the approach of that king, fell into an ambush, and was brought captive to him, as Leo the Ninth had been to Humphry de Hauteville. In using his prisoner well, but yet making him pay the purchase of his freedom by proper concessions, this monarch wisely followed the example of Humphrey; and thereby obtained a bull, which, taking no notice of what had been done by Anaclet, declared that, whereas Robert Guiscard and his brother, the father of this Roger, had driven the Saracens out of Sicily and Italy; and forasmuch as, by the testimony of antient histories, it appears, that, in former times, Sicily had been *a kingdom*, the pope granted to this prince, *with the fullness of the royal dignity*, and confirmed to him *by the apostolic authority*, the possession of that kingdom, and the dominions in Italy with which he had been invested by Honorius the Second, adding to them the city and principality of Capua, from which Robert, to whom, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-six, the German emperor had restored them, had been lately expelled a second time by Roger. It is also express in the bull

V. Baronium
ad ann.
1139.

bull, that the motive for the grant of these last territories was, *that the king, by this gift, might be strongly bound to the love and obedience of St. Peter, and of his successors in the see of Rome.* Supposing this a good reason for taking from one prince his hereditary dominions, and giving them to another (which would be a monstrous supposition) it should have still been considered, that he, from whom the principality of Capua was taken, *by the apostolic authority,* had lost it twice on account of his attachment to the cause of that very pope who made the grant. Such was the good fortune of the family of Hauteville, that, whether they enjoyed the friendship of the popes, or were at enmity with them, it equally turned to their profit: but those prelates may be said to have been yet more fortunate; their ambition being served, and their usurpations secured, by the valour of these Normans, to whom they gave nothing to purchase their assistance, or recover their friendship after any quarrel with them, but what was not their own; obtaining, at the same time, the sovereignty of countries to which they had no title, and an annual tribute in acknowledgment of it, from these voluntary vassals. The six hundred *schisfati*, which had been promised to Anaclet, in return for his concessions, were now promised to Innocent and his successors in his see, canonically elected; and Roger swore to assist them, whenever his help should be wanted, and faithfully to maintain *the royalties of St. Peter.* No mention is made of the duchy of Naples in this bull, though the grant of it had been specified in that of Honorius: but, soon after this time, Duke Sergius, who had bravely defended the city against Roger, being dead, and no hope of resistance remaining, the citizens delivered it up to that monarch, who held it (as he did Salerno, Amalphi,

Amalphi, and some other places not mentioned in this or former grants) either independently, and by right of conquest ; or (which I rather believe) as generally comprised in the body of the kingdom, for which he was a homager to the see of Rome. The city of Beneventum, which, in the course of the war, had been taken from that see, was now restored to it ; but the principality was retained ; and the king of Sicily possessed, together with that island, all those provinces which compose the present kingdom of Naples.

His dominions being full of excellent sea-ports, and of a people addicted to navigation and trade, he formed a great naval force, which gave him the empire of the Mediterranean sea, and securing to his subjects a most extensive commerce, made his kingdom the richest in the christian world at that time. War itself was to him a source of wealth. His fleets and armies compelled the king of Tripoli, in Afric, to pay him tribute, took many other cities on the African coast, and, ravaging all the maritime countries of Greece, brought from thence into Sicily and his other dominions, besides immense plunder, a great number of artificers in the silk manufactures, who taught his people their art. One of the last of his conquests was the island of Malta, which the Saracens yielded to him about three years before his death. He died in the year eleven hundred and fifty-three, leaving to William, his son, all his dignities and possessions, hereditary or acquired.

This prince, having been associated to the government in the life-time of his father, and crowned king, without any opposition from Rome, made no scruple of repeating that ceremony now without staying to obtain the pope's consent : at which, Adrian the Fourth took such offence, that he

V. autores
citatos ut
suprà.

V. autores
citatos ut
suprà.

he excommunicated his person, declared him a rebel against St. Peter, and absolved all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. A great rebellion ensued, which, while the pontiff was busily endeavouring to foment at Beneventum, he received a splendid embassy from Manuel Comnenus, who offered largely to assist him with money and forces in this war against William, on condition that three maritime cities of Apulia should, when taken from that prince, be restored to the empire of Constantinople. The proposal was accepted, and Adrian wrote a letter to Frederick Barbarossa, whom Manuel had drawn to this league, strongly pressing him to join his troops with theirs, against the enemy of both empires; which that prince agreed to do, but was stopt by a sickness breaking out in his army, and a revolt of the Lombards. Yet, without aid from him, the Greeks, the pope, and the rebels, confederated together, had such good success, that there remained in all Italy only the cities of Salerno, Amalphi, and Naples obedient to William. The greatness of the danger, and the obstinacy of Adrian, in rejecting advantageous offers of peace, roused that king, who, ever since his accession to the throne, had lived, like an eastern sultan, shut up from his subjects within the walls of his palace, and committing all business to the care of his favourite, Maione de Bari. Exerting now all the courage which nature had given to him, he put himself at the head of an army of veterans, formed under the discipline of his royal father, who, landing with him at Salerno, defeated the Greek army, took their generals prisoners, recovered all the cities of Apulia and Calabria, and forced the pope, whom they closely besieged in Beneventum, not only to renew and confirm to their prince all the grants of former pontiffs, but to add the investitures,

vestitures, denied hitherto, of Salerno and Amalphi, with all their dependancies, and of the march of Ancona; for which last acquisition an additional tribute of five hundred *scabiali* was to be paid to the apostolic see. This agreement, which was made in the year eleven hundred and fifty-six, contained also some privileges which gave to the kings of Sicily a kind of ecclesiastical supremacy in their realm. No terms were obtained for the safety of those barons who had rebelled against William, and were in the town with the pope. Being all delivered up to the mercy of that king, they were sacrificed to his vengeance; as was likewise Robert, prince of Capua, who, during this revolt, had regained his principality, but lost it now with his life, which he ended miserably in prison, after his eyes had been put out. He was the last of the Norman counts of Aversa, who had drawn into Italy the family of Hauteville, had for some time been assistant to their power in that country, and were at last destroyed by it, attempting to overthrow it in the full maturity of its strength.

The next year, William's general having won a signal victory, on the coast of the Morea, over the Greeks, Manuel Comnenus was forced to sue for peace; and, to obtain it, consented (which he never would do before) to acknowledge William as king of Sicily: nor, after this time, did he, or his successors, ever disturb the possession the family of Hauteville had gained in any of these countries, to which the Greek empire had an undeniable right.

All these happy events would have secured to the king a lasting tranquility, if the immoderate power which he gave to his favourite had not excited new troubles. Even the death of that lord, assassinated by Bonello, a great baron of the realm, did not end these disorders; the fear of ven-

geance from his friends, who were powerful in the court, forcing Bonello, and others, who had abetted the murder, to try to place William's son, a child about nine years old, on the throne of his father. This design was approved by many of the barons, whom the tyranny of the king had offended; and even by some of his own near relations, whom private injuries had made his enemies. The conspirators seized his person, and shut him up in a prison: yet he was freed, after three or four days of confinement, by the people of Palermo. His son, at the first attempt of the rebels to break into the palace, looking out of a window, was wounded by an arrow, but would have recovered of that hurt, if the tyrant, in his fury, had not given him a violent kick on the stomach, of which he died. To this horrid act of rage the blackest melancholy succeeded in the mind of the father, which withdrew him more than ever from the government of his kingdom; and a grievous abuse of the regal power, in the hands to which he gave it, produced more insurrections. Yet he reigned until the year eleven hundred and sixty-six, when a natural death put an end to many calamities, which his insatiable avarice, and an equal excess of indulgence to his friends and cruelty to his enemies, had brought on his subjects. These vices fixed upon him the opprobrious appellation of *William the Bad*. On the contrary, William, his second son and successor, by the lenity of his government, accompanied with a strict administration of justice, obtained from the gratitude and affection of his people the surname of *the Good*. His many personal virtues, and the flourishing state of his kingdom, as soon as he came to an age mature for marriage, induced the Greek emperor, Manuel Comnenus, to send an embassy to him, with the offer
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of his daughter, who, being at that time his only child, was the presumptive heiress to the empire. But, some difficulties arising in the treaty of alliance, the emperor changed his mind, or (as other authors say) the king rejected the match, because it was not agreeable to the pope. In the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, the daughter of another emperor was offered to him by her father; a plenipotentiary being sent into Sicily for that purpose from Frederick Barbarossa, who was then making war, and not unsuccessfully, in the March of Ancona, but wished to obtain the king of Sicily's friendship by means of this alliance. That monarch refused it, as repugnant to the engagements by which he was bound to Alexander the Third, whom he had acknowledged as pope, and supported with much zeal. In revenge of this refusal, the emperor sent an army to invade Apulia; but a battle which he lost against the people of Milan compelled him to recal it, and frustrated his intension of going thither himself at the head of all his forces. William, freed from the danger of so formidable a war, determined to marry. The pope, with whom he consulted on the choice of a wife, advised him to ask the princess Jane Plantagenet of King Henry her father. It has been mentioned before, that an offer of this match had been made in the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine, by Henry to William, and that the proposal had been received with joy: but, as the princess was then much too young to be married, the parties were not tied by any absolute contract. In the year eleven hundred and seventy-three, Henry notified to William, as one of his friends, the rebellion of his sons, and sued for succour against them; to which an answer was returned,

Benedict.
Abbas, ad
ann. 1173.

declaring in very strong terms a just detestation of their unnatural conduct, and good wishes to their father; but William pleaded the distance of his territories from Henry's, as not permitting him to give that king any aid. Yet he certainly might have sent him a subsidy of money, if he had been so inclined: but, in truth, no political reasons induced him to meddle in this quarrel; and moral sentiments alone have rarely so much force in the deliberations of princes, as to carry them beyond the line of their interests, even in cases where naturally one should think they would make a common cause. This Henry well knew, and therefore, though he left no means of procuring any assistance untried, he felt no resentment at not obtaining it here, nor, probably, much disappointment. It was some advantage to him that the cause of his enemies was condemned by a monarch, whose opinion the pope, having need of his protection, was obliged to respect. We have grounds to believe that the bishop of Syracuse who was an Englishman transplanted into Sicily, where he had gained a great share in the general administration of government under the two Williams, helped greatly to infuse into the mind of the latter good dispositions towards Henry, his natural sovereign, and also to forward this match. For it appears, he kept up a very friendly correspondence with Peter of Blois, that monarch's secretary, who had been authorised to assure him of the royal protection and favour of his master, if any revolution in the court of Sicily, or any disgust, should incline him to return from thence into England. And the first proposal of this match, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine, had passed through his hands.

But,

V. Petri
Blesens.
Epist. 46.

Benedict.
Abbas. ad
ann. 1176.
Dilecto,
Ibidem.

But, however agreeable the alliance was to Henry, he would not conclude it without consulting his parliament, which, for this purpose, was called, to meet him at London. Their approbation being given, Count Florio Camerota, grand justiciary of Sicily, and two Italian prelates, ambassadors from William, with the archbishop of Rouen, who, as nearly related to the family of Hauteville, had attended them on this business from Normandy into England, were sent by Henry to see the princess, his daughter, in the palace of Winchester. They returned from thence greatly pleased with the beauty of her person and accomplishments of her mind, which exceeded the report that had been made to William, though what he had heard of them was one of the motives that induced him to choose her for his queen. But the marriage was not celebrated until the next year, the princess being even then under thirteen years old. What portion Henry gave her we are not told: but a most ample dower was settled upon her by William, besides very rich presents which he sent to her father on the notification of his consent to the match, and which were unfortunately lost in the voyage with two Sicilian gallees.

V. Diction.
ad ann. 1175.

Rened. &
Abhes. ad
ann. 1177.

Ibidem ad
ann. 1176.

Elcanor, Henry's second daughter, who had long been betrothed to Alphonso, king of Castile, was also given to her husband during the course of the year eleven hundred and seventy-six; and a match was concluded for John, the youngest son of Henry, with Isabella, the youngest daughter of William earl of Gloucester, who, having no issue male, agreed to leave her his earldom, with all his lands undivided, on condition that the king should give to each of her sisters,

who were married to the earls of Evereux and Clare, a yearly revenue of one hundred pounds in England, equivalent to an income of fifteen hundred at this time. But both parties were yet infants, and the relation between them made it necessary to get a dispensation from Rome before they could be solemnly espoused to each other.

Gisald,
Cambren.
Hibern. Ex-
posit. l. ii.
c. 14.
Irish Annals,
Manuscr.

While the alliance with the king of Sicily was concluding, Henry received news from Ireland, which obliged him to attend with particular care to his affairs in that country. About the end of May in this year eleven hundred and seventy-six, Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, died at Dublin of a cancerous sore in his leg, leaving by Eva his wife, the daughter of Dermot Mac Morrough king of Leinster, a son and a daughter, both infants. His sister Basilea, who attended upon him at the time of his death, sent immediate notice of it, as secretly as she could, to Raymond Fitzgerald, her husband, who then was in Desmond, at the head of her brother's English troops; but she prudently kept it from the knowledge of all others until he should return to her, which she pressed him to do without delay. On the receipt of her letter, he marched back to Limerick, where part of his army had been left, and, communicating the intelligence to a few of the officers under his command, consulted with them what measures it was proper to take on this event. They unanimously determined that his chief care ought to be the securing of Leinster and the towns on the sea-coast; to which end, it was necessary to lead all the English forces that were under his banner into those places, abandoning Limerick,

Hibern. Ex-
posit. l. ii.
c. 14.
Irish Annals,
Manuscr.

rick, which its distance, and exposed situation in the neighbourhood of those Irish who were either unsubdued or prone to revolt, would render untenable in the present conjuncture. Raymond felt much reluctance thus to give up a conquest, made and preserved with great peril, and from which he derived his highest reputation : yet, none of his officers caring to undertake the defence of it during his absence, he delivered up the city to Donald O'Brian, as one of the king's barons, taking from him a new oath of fealty to that monarch, and hostages to secure the faith he had pledged. But, notwithstanding these pledges, the English troops had no sooner passed the bridge, than they saw the other end of it broken down by the Irish, and fire set to all the four quarters of the city, which had been fenced with strong walls, adorned with many handsome buildings, and filled with an immense magazine of provisions brought into it by Raymond.

The cause of this was a fixed opinion in the Irish, that walled towns and forts were dangerous to their freedom, and that to them it would always be more advantageous to destroy than possess them.

When Henry heard what had happened with relation to Limerick, he said, *that great courage had been shewn in taking it, and in succouring it greater, but wisdom only in quitting it* : a judgment formed on good grounds, as things were circumstanced at that time.

On Raymond's arrival at Dublin, the dead earl was interred in the cathedral of that city, and the two English noblemen, whom the king had commissioned to advise and assist him in the government of Ireland, returned to that prince, leaving

*Ulster. Ex-
posit. l. ii.
c. 15.*

Raymond entrusted with all the power of the state, until the sovereign's will should be known. When they had made their report, Henry sent into Ireland William Fitz-Aldelm, his sewer, as his deputy or lieutenant, attended by ten knights, who were of the royal household. John de Courci, Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Milo de Cogan, were likewise commanded to go over with this baron, and to be under his orders, having, each of them, a band of ten knights of the household. Raymond came, with all marks of due respect for the deputy, to meet him at his landing, and deliver to him the keys of all the Irish towns, possessed by the English, with the hostages of the princes or chieftains of Ireland committed to his keeping. But the jealousy, which that lord had conceived of the power of the Geraldine family, was not removed by this act of reverence and submission. For, when he saw Raymond coming at the head of a very fine body of cavalry, wherein he remarked thirty knights all of Raymond's own kindred, bearing the same coat of arms emblazoned in their shields, and riding beautiful horses, which they managed with admirable grace and dexterity, he said in a low voice to some of his attendants, *I will quickly check this pride, and disperse those shields.* Such a connexion of men so excelling in valour, and so attached to each other by the bonds of consanguinity, under a chief so ambitious and enterprising as Raymond, required indeed some controul; but the services they had done demanded great regard from the ministers of the king, and from the king himself.

Presently after this meeting on the confines of Wexford, the deputy went to Dublin, on the state of which city it will be necessary here to make

make some observations. I have mentioned before, that, when the forces of Earl Strongbow took it by storm, in the year eleven hundred and seventy, a great slaughter was made of the Ostmen dwelling in it, and that many of the most considerable citizens, throwing themselves into ships which lay in the harbour, escaped to the Orkney isles. The town therefore was left very destitute of inhabitants; to repair which loss (as it seems) and also to secure the possession of the place more effectually to himself, Henry, while he was there, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, granted a charter to the citizens of Bristol, whereby he gave them Dublin to inhabit and to hold in chief of him, with the same liberties and free customs as they enjoyed at Bristol. This charter is preserved in the archives of Dublin, from whence I have transcribed it into the appendix belonging to this book. I do not understand by it that all the Ostmen remaining within the walls of that city were to be now driven out, and the citizens of Bristol brought in; but that a colony out of Bristol was invited to come and fill the empty houses, of which there must have been a large number. The reason which induced the king to make choice of the Bristol men for this purpose was the interest they had in the commerce of Dublin, much diminished on account of the present desolation, and a probability, that, by means of their frequent correspondence and intercourse with the Ostmen, they would more easily mix and incorporate with those continuing there, than any other English. The next year, another charter was given by Henry to the citizens of Dublin, wherein he styles them *his burgessees*, and grants to them, *as such*, a privilege of free trade in all parts of England, Normandy, Wales, and Ireland, forbidding any
man

man to disturb them in the full enjoyment thereof, under a penalty of ten pounds. A transcript of this also is in the appendix. Whether any, or what number, of the Bristol men had come over on the former invitation, does not appear from this record, nor from any other evidence which I can discover. Mention is made of the Oostmen of Dublin, by Giraldus Cambrensis, in relating the transactions of the year eleven hundred and seventy-three; but (which is very surprizing) no notice is taken in any chronicle of those times, of any colony out of Bristol having settled in that town. Perhaps they migrated gradually, at different periods, and not many together. But, if the town was re-peopled, during the course of this reign, by such a plantation, the wisdom of the measure deserves no little praise, as it strengthened very much the English power in Ireland without offence to the Irish.

In this year eleven hundred and seventy-six, many castles belonging to the nobles of England, who had been the most criminal authors and abettors of the late rebellion in that kingdom, were levelled to the ground. Nor did Henry only take from these suspected lords the power of doing more harm, but, with the advice and consent of a parliament, convened at Windsor about the feast of St. Michael, removed the garrisons of all the barons of England from the castles they held, and committed them to the guard of his own household troops, or others appointed by him; not excepting the castle of Richard de Lucy himself. The same measures were pursued in Normandy also, notwithstanding the loyalty which the nobles of that dutchy had so eminently shewn during the late civil war. All this indicates an extraordinary apprehension of danger, which probably sprung from the intelligence given of young Henry's

Henry's cabals by Adam de Chirckedon, and the subsequent conduct of that prince.

From Windfor, soon after the rising of parliament, the English monarch went northwards, to meet the king of Scotland, who brought to him Gilbert, the chieftain of Galloway, whom he had lately subdued. Henry now was induced to give that prince a pardon, denied to him before, for the murder of Uchtred, his brother. If political necessity (the excuse of many bad actions) did not compel this agreement, it can hardly be justified: but, there might be no other means effectually to restore the tranquility of that country, which lying upon the borders of England and Scotland, and, being full of a people the most savage in all Britain, would, if unsettled and hostile, have disturbed very grievously both the English and the Scots, at a time when other troubles were suspected to be rising. The justice of Henry might, therefore, on this occasion give way to the safety of the state. Certain it is, that, by making a friend of this prince, he rendered it much more difficult for the king of Scotland to shake off the sovereignty of England; Galloway being a barrier between the two countries, which the Scots could not pass, to invade the English border, without Gilbert's permission. And nothing could be more pleasing to the three northern counties, than to see those bad neighbours, who had been used to infest and desolate their whole region in conjunction with the Scots, become their out-guards against them. Gilbert's peace being made, he did homage for Galloway to the king of England, as supreme lord of that country, which he was to hold, under him, of the king of Scotland.

About the feast of St. Hillary, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, a great council

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1176.

Benedict.
Abb.
ad ann. 1177

cil

cil was held by Henry at Northampton, in which William de Cahannes set up a new claim, to hold his barony of the king, instead of the earl of Leicester; and that lord, who was known to lie under all the load of royal displeasure, was summoned to answer to this plea. He came; and, having quietly heard the allegations against his right, said, "That although he himself, and his
" four immediate ancestors, had charters and
" grants of all their lands and possessions, and
" particularly of this barony; from William the
" First and Henry the First, kings of England,
" and although the ancestors of Cahannes had
" held their barony of his, without dispute, from
" that time, yet he would not plead for that, or
" for any other right, against the will of the king,
" but submitted them all to his mercy." This so touched the heart of Henry, that he instantly restored to him all his lands and tenements, as entire as he had held them before the war, except the fortresses which had been already demolished, one castle in England, which had been found to belong to the royal demesne by the inquiry of a jury, and another in Normandy, which, being a frontier place, he thought it expedient, for the security of that duchy, to retain in his own hands. The town and forest of Leicester (though these also, by the verdict of a jury of the country, had been adjudged to the crown) were included in this grant. Thus the hopes entertained by William de Cahannes, that the resentment of the king against the earl would incline him to favour any suit to his prejudice, were disappointed, and the clemency of that prince towards a capital enemy, now repentant and humbled, was generously displayed. Whether sentence was given against the claim of William we are not told; but probably it was, if he did not himself

himself withdraw his plea. Henry also restored to the earl of Chester all his land, reserving only his castles.

About the beginning of March, the king received a letter from his secretary Peter de Blois, which informed him, that ambassadors from Alphonso, king of Castile, and Sanchez, king of Navarre, were come into his kingdom, to lay before him a great and antient controversy between them, which had cost both parties the lives of many of their subjects, and the ruin of many of their cities. The secretary concluded with returning thanks to God, "*That, as the queen of the South had come from the remotest parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, so these very distant kings, in this weighty and difficult cause, did now submit to his judgment.*"

The fame of his justice must indeed be very great to bring this question before him: for, though the king of Castile, *his son-in-law*, might naturally wish to make him the arbiter of it, yet that affinity would have been, to the king of Navarre a strong objection against it, and have induced him to choose a more indifferent judge, if he and his counsellors had not entertained the highest opinion of Henry's incorruptible impartiality in judicial proceedings. And it appears that the offer of referring it to him arose from that prince himself. Many usurpations had been made, at different periods, by force of arms, on both sides; restitution of which, with damages to the value of 100,000 marbotines (a Spanish or Moorish coin) was demanded by each party. Four castles were put into neutral hands by each king, as pledges for their standing to Henry's award in this cause. Advocates were sent to plead for them, and others to hear and to report the judgment. Some historians likewise add, that

each
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, *ad*
ann. 1177.

Rymer's
Fœdera,
p. 45.

Rymer's
Fœdera,
p. 48.
Ibidem,
p. 46. 47.

Ibidem,
p. 43.

each king sent a champion to fight for him in the lists, if Henry should choose to order the controversy to be determined by duel; but there is no mention of this in the record. Henry himself tried the cause in his high court of parliament, which was called for that purpose at Westminster, on the first Sunday in Lent of the year 1177. The pleas on both sides having been put into writing in the Latin language, and delivered in court; and the advocates of each party having been heard thereupon, judgment was given, the next Sunday, to this effect: That, whereas neither party had denied the usurpations alledged by the other to have been forcibly and unjustly made, the king and court decreed, that a full restitution should be made on both sides. And moreover, that, for the sake of peace, the king of Castile should pay to his uncle, the king of Navarre, the annual Sum of 3000 marobotines for ten years to come.

Brompton,
col. 1123.
apud De-
cem
Scriptores,

Rymer, p. 48

Ibidem,
p. 47.

Rymer,
p. 49.

Ibidem
p. 50.

The reason of this may have been, (though it is not so express in the words of the judgment) that after a truce of ten years, agreed upon by a treaty between the two kings, some castles had been taken from the king of Navarre by the king of Castile: or, perhaps, that the ancestor of the latter of those princes had been the first aggressor; both which circumstances appear from the state of the facts, as given in the record. Before the sentence was pronounced, the ambassadors of both kings had pledged themselves by an oath, that, if their masters should not act conformably to it, they would deliver themselves up into Henry's hands and power. Among the witnesses to the judgment are the bishop of Wittern in Galloway, and the three Welsh bishops of St. David's, St. Asaph, and Bangor. At the end of the names of the spiritual and temporal barons, subscribing thereto, are these words, *et aliis quam pluribus, tam clericis quam laicis, de regno Angliæ.*

While

While Henry was thus administering justice to foreign potentates, a brother of Earl Ferrars was privily murdered, by night, within the walls of London. The murderers were unknown; so that the king could not take the vengeance he desired for this gentleman's blood, on those by whose hands it had been shed; but he happened to have in his power another criminal, by whose punishment he secured the future peace of his capital against such crimes, which were become common there. For, during the disorders of the late intestine wars, the whole government of the kingdom being relaxed, it was grown into a custom for companies of a hundred or more young men, sons or relations of the principal citizens of London, to sally forth in the night, and plunder the houses of other wealthy people, assaulting and killing those whom they met in their way; which spread such a terror through the town, that few persons dared to go out of their houses after it was dark. In the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, one of these riotous bands beset the house of a wealthy citizen, whose name is not mentioned: but he, having happily received some intelligence of their design, armed himself and his servants, and a company of his friends, with whom he waited their coming. They broke into the house, led by one Andrew Buquinte, who, seeing the master advancing to resist him, struck at his breast with a knife, but could not pierce the corselet with which it was covered. The master instantly drew his sword, and cut off Buquinte's hand, at the same time loudly calling on his friends for aid. The other rioters fled; but the wounded man was seized, and delivered up the next morning to Richard de Lucy, justiciary of the realm, who committed him to prison. For a pardon he was brought to impeach his accomplices, of whom many

Benedict.
Abb. ad ann.
1177.
p. 196, 197.

ny were taken, and among them one John Senex, a citizen of the first rank, and of great wealth. He was tried by the water ordeal, and, failing to clear himself, lay under sentence of death, until the king should have leisure to determine about him, which it seems he had not until this time. Five hundred marks, equivalent to five thousand pounds in these days, were offered for his life: but, the times requiring an example, Henry ordered that judgment should be executed upon him, and he was hanged. What was done with the other prisoners, we are not told: but henceforward no more riots were heard of in the city during the course of this reign.

Benedict.

Abb.

ed ann. 1167

p. 200.

A little before Easter, in this year eleven hundred and sixty-seven, while Henry was at Reading, where he had proposed to celebrate that feast, he received information that the earl of Flanders was coming into England, to pay a visit to him, and to the tomb of St. Thomas. He went therefore to meet this prince at Canterbury, and, after they had performed their devotions together, they settled all matters relating to another more troublesome pilgrimage, which the earl was preparing to make, and to which the king himself was also obliged, a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; not merely for the sake of paying their worship at the sepulchre of our Lord, but in order to defend it against the infidels. This the earl had undertaken in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five; but, having soon afterwards caused a nobleman to be slain, without any trial or form of law, on a strong suspicion of having dishonoured his bed, he was obliged to defer the performance of his vow, by a civil war in Flanders, which the family and friends of the murdered person, who was of the first rank, and highest reputation for valour in that country, had excited against him. These
rebels

rebels were subdued, and peace was restored to the earldom, before Midsummer in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six; and the earl, who intended to set out for Palestine on the next Christmas-day, was stopt by a message, which the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Ely brought to him from Henry, desiring him to put off his journey to the Holy Land until the festival of Easter ensuing, when that king proposed to accompany him thither, if his affairs would permit, or to send with him some troops, if he could not go himself. The time assigned was approaching, and the state of the Christians in that part of the world seemed to require their aid.

Benedict.
Abb.
c. 142, 143.

How little benefit these had drawn from the crusade undertaken, at the instigation of Bernard, about thirty years before, has been shewn in a former part of this history. By all the efforts then made, the power of the Mahometans in the several countries adjacent to Palestine had not been diminished; but their courage and opinion of their own superior strength had been exceedingly raised, by their having seen the greatest potentates of Christendom vanquished, and two mighty armies, which had threatened to drive them beyond the Euphrates, wasted away and destroyed. In the year eleven hundred and forty-eight, presently after the return of the emperor Conrad and the king of France into Europe, Noureddin, sultan of Aleppo, invaded the territory of Antioch, at the head of an army collected from all the East. Raymond de Poitiers, Queen Eleanor's uncle, exposing his person, with a rash intrepidity, in the defence of his country, was overpowered and killed. The reputation of this prince had been so illustrious among the Mahometans, that his head and right hand were presented by Nouredin, as the noblest spoils of the war, to the caliph of Bagdat. On this defeat,

Gul. Tyr. de
Bello Sacro,
l. 17. ad
ann.

the whole principality of Antioch was over-run by the sultan, and the castle of Harenc, a place of very great strength, within a small distance from the city, was taken : but that capital itself, and all the frontiers of Palestine were saved by the valour and extraordinary abilities of the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin the Third, who, though he had hardly attained to an age of manhood, not only repelled the assaults of Noureddin and the sultan of Iconium, his most formidable neighbours, but, turning his arms against the Saracens of Egypt, took from them, in the year eleven hundred and fifty-three, the town of Ascalon, which commanded the borders of Egypt on the side of his kingdom. Nevertheless, while his forces were employed in this siege, Noureddin conquered Damascus, and all the territory belonging to that opulent city : a revolution very hurtful to the neighbouring christian states, who had much to fear from its troops, united henceforwards with those of Damascus, and commanded by Noureddin, a chief far superior to the effeminate prince he had deposed. The war continued between him and the realm of Jerusalem, with various success, until the year eleven hundred and fifty-eight, when Baldwin, taking advantage of a dangerous fit of sickness which had seized him in the camp, won from him the strong city of Cæsarea in Syria, and also recovered the important fortress of Harenc. In performing these exploits, the king was assisted by Theodorick earl of Flanders, who had brought him a considerable body of troops. But, in the next summer, Noureddin, whose health was restored beyond all hope, laid siege to a castle which was one of the keys to the kingdom of Jerusalem, on the side of Damascus. The king and the earl, marching thither to relieve it, were met by the sultan, who had

had notice of their coming. A sharp battle ensued, which ended in a great defeat of the Turks. Gul. Tyr. l. 19.

This victory gave some respite to the Christians of the Holy Land; and, though in the year eleven hundred and sixty-three, they lost their best defence in the person of king Baldwin, who died of a fever; yet his brother Amalarick, who succeeded to his throne, began his reign very happily by beating the Egyptians in a battle on their frontier.

Egypt had, for some centuries, been under the dominion of schismatical caliphs, who deriving their pedigree, or pretending to derive it, from Fathemah, the daughter of Mahomet married to Ali, were called Fathemites or Alidæ, and maintained themselves against the caliphs of Bagdat, who, descending only from Abbas, Mahomet's uncle, were not by their blood (if the genealogy of their rivals had not been disputed) entitled to an equal degree of veneration from the Mahometan sect. But these Fathemites, whose empire had spread over Mauritania, Numidia, Barbary, and all the sea-coast of Africk, from whence they had made themselves Masters of Egypt, became so indolent there, that, like the caliphs of Bagdat, they abandoned all business and care of the government to the generals of their armies, who, with the title of *Soldans*, were really kings, leaving to them a mere form and shadow of royalty, supported only by the reverence which their family drew from the bigotry of the people. One of these ministers, called Sanar by the Latin historians contemporary with him, but whose true name was Schaour, procured aid from Nouredin to destroy a competitor, who had driven him out of Egypt; but the general of those forces, while the soldan whom he came to assist was at Cairo, got possession of Belbeis, the antient Pelusium, and kept it for his master. Schaour, whose own strength was not able to recover that important

Gul. Tyr.
l. xiv. c. 5.
Herbelot D
Orient. Art.
Adhed Ledi-
nillah. Ainh
BenSchaddi.
Abulteda
Vit. Saladini
Aust. Boha-
dino F.
Sjeddi. P. 1.

Gul. Tyr.
i. ix. c. 8, 9.

frontier place, which opened a passage to the armies of Nouredin for an absolute conquest of Egypt, had recourse to Amalarick, king of Jerusalem, the valour of whose troops he before had proved to his cost; and by a promise of a tribute, or annual subsidy, of forty thousand crowns of gold, bought his assistance to drive the Turkish soldiers of Nouredin, the common enemy of both kingdoms, out of Belbeis. After a siege of three months, the town was recovered; and Amalarick returned from thence into Syria, where, during his absence, events of importance had happened. For Nouredin, awaiting the success of his general's operations in Egypt, had taken a post on the confines of Damascus, and thought himself there so secure of not being molested by the Christians of Palestine, while their sovereign was in Egypt with all the best of his troops, that he neglected even the usual and necessary cautions to prevent a surprize. Intelligence of this being given to Gilbert de Lacy, a great baron of England, Robert Mansel, a knight of Wales, and two nobles of Aquitaine, whom a desire of glory, and the merit of fighting for what they deemed the cause of Christ, had brought to Antioch at this time, they got together a few soldiers of that principality, and joining them to some Welsh, who had come into Palestine under the conduct of Mansel, assaulted by night the sultan's camp, and carrying into it, by their sudden and unexpected attack, the utmost terror and confusion, while the darkness concealed the smallness of their numbers, put to the sword or took prisoners the greatest part of his army. He himself, with much difficulty, escaped by flight, leaving behind him his arms and all his baggage. Thus gloriously did the Welsh make known to the bravest people of Asia, to the Saracens and the Turks, the British valour! But
Nouredin,

Noureddin, to efface and revenge this disgrace, the worst he ever had suffered, collected all his forces, and begging or hiring more from the neighbouring emirs, before the end of the year eleven hundred and sixty-five, besieged the castle of Harenc. For the relief of that place, the bulwark of Antioch, all the christian princes who had territories adjacent thereunto, or not very far distant, assembled their troops, and marched thither. On their near approach to his camp, the wary sultan retired; but, while they pursued him with a rash and precipitate ardour, he turned upon them in a streight, where they could not escape from him, and, having easily routed their disordered bands, took captive the prince of Antioch, the earl of Tripoli, the imperial præfect of Cilicia, and the titular earl of Edeffa, with many other nobles. This great blow being struck, he soon became master of the castle of Harenc, and early in the next year, availing himself of the weakness and consternation of the christians, who had no chief in those parts, and hardly any troops, took Cæfareæ Philippi, before Amalarick, occupied in the siege of Belbeis, returned out of Egypt.

The news of these losses, which was brought into Europe in the year eleven hundred and sixty-six, prevailed on the piety of the kings of France and of England, with the general consent of their subjects, to contribute to the defence of the Holy Land, thus exposed to the further attempts of Noureddin, by a tax on all property, of what nature soever, at the rate of two pence in the pound for the year next ensuing, and one penny for the four succeeding years, in all the territories of France. It likewise appears that a tax was granted by parliament at the rate of four pence for every plough land in England (*de unaquaque carrucata terræ*) in the year eleven hundred and sixty-six. Some part of these subsidies being paid to Amalarick

Chron. Ger-
va. ad
ann. 1166.

M. Paris, ad
ann. 1166.

Gul. Tyr.
l. xix.

Amalarick in the year eleven hundred and sixty-seven, he hired forces sufficient to defend his own kingdom, and led others again into the confines of Egypt, to oppose Asedoddin, the general of Nouredin, whom that prince had commanded to renew the war in those parts, and who was expelled a second time by this brave king; in return for which service, the stipulated tribute from Egypt to him was encreased by the soldan to a hundred thousand *dinars* or crowns of gold; and (what was still of more value) a free commerce with that realm, the great center in those days of the whole Indian trade, was granted to his subjects.

Gul. Tyr.
l. xx.

But the weakness he had seen in the government and the armies of that opulent country suggested to him the hope of much greater advantages by the conquest thereof, which he soon afterwards undertook in confederacy with the emperor, Manuel Comnenus, whose niece he had married, and which he began by perfidiously surprizing Belbeis. If he had instantly marched from thence to Grand Cairo, while the affright and disorder, which the first report of his unexpected hostilities had caused in that city, continued in its full force, he might perhaps have succeeded, even to the height of his wishes: but, suffering himself to be stopt by an offer from Schaour of an immense sum of money, he gave time to that soldan, who had no other resource, to treat with Nouredin, and bring back into Egypt, as an auxiliary, the same Asedoddin, whom he had twice driven out. The junction of the Egyptians, in consequence of this league, with a great army of Turks, obliged Amalarick to retire into his own kingdom, withdrawing even the garrison which the knight hospitallers of Jerusalem had put into Belbeis, and having received from the soldan, instead of two millions of *dinars* or crowns of gold, which he had

had promised to pay, only one hundred thousand. Thus did the rapacious avarice of this prince defeat the great purposes of his ambition, to which he had sacrificed a solemn alliance, very useful to his realm; and thus was he disappointed of the gratification of his avarice itself! But worse mischiefs ensued. For Asedoddin, being now within the bowels of Egypt, seized the person of Schaour, and sending his head to the caliph, his late master, was invested by that monarch, the helpless prey of the conqueror, with the office of soldan.

This revolution, which put the whole kingdom of Egypt under the power of Noureddin, came to pass in the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine, without a sword being drawn against the Turks. Nor did the death of Asedoddin, which happened soon afterwards, deliver the caliph from the yoke of his new masters. For Saladin (or, according to the true orthography, Salaheddin) that general's nephew, who had distinguished himself greatly in the defence of Belbeis, succeeding to his uncle in the command of the army, obtained likewise the dignity of soldan of Egypt. But in the autumn of that year, a powerful fleet, with many troops and a vast abundance of arms and military stores, having come to Ptolemais from Constantinople, pursuant to the treaty which Amalarick had made with Manuel Comnenus, and a great supply of money out of England and France having been sent to that king not long before, he laid siege to Damietta, situated on the eastern mouth of the Nile, in conjunction with the Greeks. The town was bravely defended; so that, after two months, despairing to take it, he retired with his army, not a little diminished by the losses it had suffered, into his own kingdom, which his unjust and unsuccessful enterprises had exceedingly weakened. The confederate fleet returning back from Damietta to Ptolemais, was destroyed by a tempest; so
unprospero.

Abulfeda &
Vita Saladi-
ni, Austore
Bohadina, F.
Sjaddadi,
c. 3.

Gal. Tyr.
l. xx. c. 19.

unprosperous were all the events of this war, begun in violation of the most sacred laws of publick faith! In the following summer of the year eleven hundred and seventy, most of the cities in the regions of Syria and Phœnicia, adjacent to Palestine, Aleppo, Tripoli, Antioch, Emiffa, Cæsarea, Laodicea, Gabulum, Tyre and Hama, with numberless towns and villages of lesser note, were totally overturned, or much hurt, by the shocks of an earthquake, one of the greatest recorded in the history of the world! Damascus also was endamaged, though not to the same degree as those above-mentioned; and both Turks and Christians in those parts, under the affliction and terror of so dreadful a calamity, were compelled for some time to a cessation of arms, which the latter could not otherwise have obtained from the former.

Abulfeda,
Herbelot,
Diſt. Orient.
Salaheddin,
Noureddin,
Adhed Ledin-
nallah, &
Morthadi
Beemrillah.
Vit. Saladini
Magni, Auc-
tore Boha-
dino Sjefad-
di.

Saladin, in the mean while, received orders from Noureddin to forbid the usual form of beginning publick prayers in the Egyptian mosques with the name of Adhed Ledinallah, the caliph then reigning, and to substitute to it that of Most-hadi Beemrillah, the thirty-third caliph of the family of Abbas. He answered, that he feared the execution of these orders would produce a rebellion: but, the sultan insisting, he obeyed; having first, with great prudence, endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people for such an alteration, by inviting into Egypt, from all those parts of the East which acknowledged the supremacy of the caliph of Bagdat, the most learned priests and doctors of Mahometan law, erecting in that Kingdom schools and colleges for them, and causing them to depose, by a synodical sentence, the Fathemite caliph, as false and schismatical. He also turned out from their offices all the cadis, or ministers of the law, who were most attached to the

the sect and family of Ali, and put in others who favoured the family of Abbas. So efficacious were these measures, or so void of spirit at this time were the servile Ægyptians, that they submitted to the ruin of their religion and government without any resistance. William archbishop of Tyre, a contemporary historian, says, that Saladin, having free access to the caliph Adhed Ledinallah, as soldan, beat out his brains with an iron club or mace; and others affirm that he ordered him to be strangled: but we are told by the best Mahometan writers, that, when the name of this caliph was suppressed in the mosques, he was desperately sick, and soon afterwards died of that illness, none having dared to inform him, even in his last moments, of what had been done in his realm against his authority! With him ended the dynasty of the Alidæ or Fathemites in Africk and in Ægypt.

When the news of this event was brought to Bagdat, the caliph sent royal vestments, with two of Mahomet's standards, to Nouredin and to Saladin, thus constituting them generals and defenders under him of the Mahometan faith. The latter of these appeared to act as lieutenant to the former, but had indeed higher views: for he bestowed the vast treasures of the dead Ægyptian caliph on the army he commanded, and, next to them, on the clergy, whose favour he thought of almost equal importance, with such a profuse liberality, that he left for himself no part thereof, and was even forced to borrow money for the necessary charges of his own household. This conduct excited the jealousy of Nouredin; but that sultan concealed his apprehensions of an evil, to which he could not, at this time, apply any remedy, and seemed to believe the professions of obedience and loyalty, which this artful usurper still continued to make, while he was establishing,

Gul. Tyr.
De Bello Sa-
cro. l. xx.
c. 12.

Abulfeda.
Herbelot in
locis citatis
Vita Saladin
ut supra
c. 7.

Vita Salad.
ut supra.
Gul. Tyr.
l. xx. c. 12.

by

- by all the secret workings of policy, his own dominion in Ægypt. Yet, notwithstanding the care which both of them took to cover their enmity, Saladin having, by the arms of one of his brothers, united to Ægypt the territory of Arabia Felix, this encrease of his power gave such umbrage to the sultan, that, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-three, that prince was preparing to make war against him, when death prevented the execution of his design, and delivered the fortunate Saladin from a contest, the issue of which he himself must have thought very doubtful.
- Gal. Tyr. l. xx. c. 33. About two months after the decease of Nouredin, Almalarick also died of a fever and dysentery. in the tenth year of his reign, and the thirty-eighth of his age, leaving his dominions to Baldwin, the fourth of that name, his son by the sister of the late earl of Edessa. This prince being a minor, the care of the government was committed to Milo de Planci, a favourite of the late king, and great seneschal of the realm: but his insolence to the nobles so provoked their resentments, that, before the end of the year, they basely put an end to his power and life by an assassination, and gave the custody of the realm to Raymond earl of Tripoli, who had been lately redeemed from a long captivity at Aleppo. He was justly esteemed a man of abilities equal to that office, which required no small ones in so perilous a conjuncture; the power of Saladin making daily and rapid advances, after the death of Nouredin, to such a magnitude as the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem, if not sustained by the aid of more powerful states, could ill resist. Nouredin had left a son but eleven years old to inherit his dominions; which prince, named Malecfalah, was acknowledged by Saladin as sovereign of Ægypt: but a dangerous insurrection for the restoration of the family of the Fathemites, or Alidæ, having been suppressed in that
- Vit. Saladin. c. 9.
- Abulfeda, Vit. Saladin, c. 10.
- L. xxi. c. 1, 2, 3, 4.
- Gal. Tyr. l. xx. c. 30.
- Vit. Saladin. c. 11, 22.
- Abulfeda.
- Gul. Tyr. l. xxi. c. 3, 6, 8.

that country, and a great army and fleet, which the king of Sicily sent to besiege Alexandria, having been repulsed with disgrace, the victorious foldan thought it time to throw off the mask which he had hitherto worn. Going suddenly to Damascus, he took possession of that city, which the inhabitants, with whom he had secretly intrigued, delivered up to him, in breach of their allegiance to the young Molecfalah, who was then at Aleppo. In like manner, all the cities and forts in Cælosyria, which had belonged to Nouredin, were betrayed to this usurper, excepting only Aleppo and the citadel of Emiffa. The latter of these, in the spring of the next year, eleven hundred and seventy-four, was also surrendered to him, on his having defeated some cavalry, which the uncle of Malecfalah, who was sultan of Mosul, the capital of Assyria, had brought from thence to oppose him in his design of usurping the whole patrimony of that prince.

Thus the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the lesser principalities dependant upon it, were hemmed in, on all sides, by the territories of Saladan, who joining now the immense wealth, and maritime power of Ægypt, to the land forces trained under the discipline of Nouredin, was a terrible neighbour, and still more to be feared from the greatness of his talents than of his dominions; it being hard to say in which he most excelled, the arts of policy, or of war. Besides the imminent danger which threatened the Holy Land from the conquering arms of this prince, it was further weakened by the ill success of a war, which the Greek emperor, Manuel Comnenus, had made, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, against the sultan of Iconium. The greatest part of his army had miserably perished in the defiles of some mountains, into which they had been unwisely led.

Nicetas,
l. vi.

There

Diceto
Imag.
Hist. f. 596.

Nicetas, l. vi.

There is extant a letter, which he wrote on this occasion to King Henry the Second, whom he styles *his beloved friend*, informing him of some circumstances which made the disaster appear less disgraceful, and boasting, that, notwithstanding the loss he had suffered, the sultan had sued to him for peace, which he had granted on terms very honourable to himself. The truth was that his person and the remains of his army were with difficulty saved by means of a treaty, which some pensioners he had in the camp of the sultan persuaded their master to make, but which was not kept on either side: and though afterwards he recovered the honour of his arms by defeating an army of fourscore thousand Turks, who, by orders of that prince, had invaded his country, yet he never was able, during the rest of his life, to do any thing against them within their own bounds, so as to render the king of Jerusalem more secure against an attack from that quarter. The caliph of Bagdat, whose supremacy, as Mahomet's lawful successor, Saladin owned and supported, and who was further obliged to him for the final extinction of the rival caliphate in Egypt, gave him in return all the aid his authority could afford, from whence he knew how to draw great advantages in all his undertakings.

Benedict.
Abb. ad
Hovenden.
Diceto, ad
ann. 1177.
Bromton,
cel. 1127.

Such was the state of the East in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, when the earl of Flanders, having finished his devotions to Becket, departed for the Holy Land, attended by William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, and some other English nobles. Henry made him a present of five hundred marks of silver, to help him to bear the charges of his pilgrimage, and sent by other hands, for the support of the Holy War, a thousand more. His affairs in Europe were now so much embroiled, that they would not permit him to accomplish his promise of going to that war in company

pany with this prince. He certainly had in view some military operations in the kingdom of France: for, soon after the meeting of the ordinary council at Easter, a parliament was assembled, first at Ely, and then at Windsor, to the last of which places came all the earls and barons, and almost all the tenants of the king by military service, *with their horses and arms, prepared to go* Benedict. Abb. Hoveden, ad an. 1177, *nowhere ever he should command them*, as I find it expressed by contemporary authors. After much consultation about the proper means of securing the internal peace of his kingdom, if a foreign war should come on, he made some changes in the custody of some of his castles, and ordered that of Alverton, which the bishop of Durham had fortified in the late civil war, to be destroyed: but, a fine of two thousand marks being paid by that prelate, his other fortresses were spared, and the king gave, at his request, to Henry de Pusey, his son, the royal manor of Wickton. He also restored to the earl of Chester all his castles, without any conditions, but with an intention to employ that nobleman in a service of the highest importance.

The government of Ireland still remained too disorderly and too feeble for a permanent system. Neither the death of O Ruark, nor the treaty between Henry and Roderick O Conor, had prevented the barbarous chieftain of Tirone from taking and demolishing, after Strongbow's decease, the castle of Slane in Meath, which Hugh de Lacy had built, and putting to the sword, not only the whole garrison, but all others who were in it, men, women, and children. This so frightened the garrisons of three other castles, erected by the same lord, that they quitted them the next day. On Fitzaldelm's arrival, the hostilities of the Irish were stopt in that country, but nothing was done to punish or reduce them to a settled

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 15, 16.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 16, 17.

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 169 ad
ann. 1177.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. ut su-
pra.

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 169.

settled obedience; nor was any vengeance taken of Donald O Brian prince of Limerick, for his having fired that city, after he had engaged, as a liegeman to Henry and as one of his barons, to keep it for that king; nor did any part of Ulster, by fealty, or tribute, acknowledge the sovereignty of the English crown. The new deputy, who was more a politician than a soldier, thought only of maintaining his own power in the government by weakening the Fitzgeralds, and of avoiding a war with any Irish prince which might put him in need of their aid. But the English forces in Dublin, impatient of inaction, and desiring the spoils and pillage of the Irish, were much displeased with this conduct. Their disgust was the stronger, from their being ill paid; a complaint, which, if owing to any fault in Fitzaldelm, was the worst charge against him. Yet he neither removed it, nor suffered them to supply their wants by their valour, as the troops under Strongbow and Raymond Fitzgerald had been accustomed to do. But John de Courcy, the next to him in command, chusing out of them a body of two and twenty knights and three hundred other soldiers, boldly offered to lead them, accompanied by some Irish, who were willing to assist in this undertaking, against Mac Dunlevy, king of Ulster, who had refused hitherto all subjection to Henry, and into whose country, inhabited by a people the most warlike in Ireland, the arms of that monarch, or of any English chief, had never yet penetrated. In vain did the deputy, by a peremptory order, forbid him to proceed. The prohibition was slighted, either because the commission granted to him by Henry impowered him to act separately, and independently of Fitzaldelm, against the unsubdued Irish, or from a confidence that success would justify disobedience. At the beginning of February

February in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, this little army advanced, by a hasty march of three days, from Dublin to Down-Patrick, the metropolis of Ulster and residence of Mac Dunlevy, the chieftain of that province, who had the title of king. This city, like all others belonging to the Irish, was without walls or bulwarks. On Courcy's approach, the king fled, having made no preparations against this unforeseen attack. It chanced that cardinal Vivian, Pope Alexander's legate into Scotland and Ireland, was lately arrived at Down-Patrick, and continuing there, after Courcy and his troops had taken possession of it, endeavoured to mediate a peace for Mac Dunlevy, by whom he had been very respectfully treated. To this end he proposed, that the English should return home, on condition that this prince should pay tribute to Henry : but, finding them wholly averse to such an agreement, he went to the king of Ulster, and exhorted him to take arms in defence of his country. Mac Dunlevy, thus encouraged, gathered together, within the term of eight days, from his province of Down, (which the Irish called Ulad) about ten thousand men, with whom, having received the legate's benediction, he marched to Down Patrick. Courcy had begun to build a fort ; but, not having leisure to make it defensible, he drew out of the town all his forces, on the approach of the Irish, and courageously gave them battle. The Ulster troops, though all infantry, stood the shock of the English cavalry, and fought hand to hand, with extraordinary valour : but their cumbrous axes and short javelins were no match for the swords and lances of the enemy, nor could their bodies unarmed, resist or endure the incessant flights of arrows, with which they were galled by the archers, while the knights and men at arms, compleatly covered with steel, pushed their horses against them,

Hibern. Expugn. l. ii. c. 16.

Neubrigensis, l. iii. c. 9.

Hibern. Expugn. ut supra.

them, and broke through all their thickest files, Courcy himself, who in strength of body was superior to most of his soldiers, gallantly charged at their head, and made with his sword a great slaughter of the Irish, who, after all their bravest men had fallen in the action, endeavoured to save themselves by flight; but flying along the sea shore, where the cavalry could pursue them, they were almost all slain. The legate, apprehending the resentment of the conquerors for the part he had acted, took sanctuary in a church; but Courcy gave him protection, and at his intercession freed the bishop of Down, who, having gone out with his flock, the Ulad men, to this battle, had in the pursuit been made captive.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 17.
Neubrigen-
sis, l. iii. c. 9.

While this general was employed in finishing the new fort he had planned at Down-Partick for the future defence of that city, the legate went to Dublin, and held a synod of all the Irish bishops and abbots, to whom he declared the pope's confirmation of the king of England's right to the sovereignty of Ireland, and strictly commanded the clergy and laity of that realm to keep their fealty to him under the penalty of excommunication. He likewise gave the English soldiers a liberty to take what victuals they wanted, in any of their expeditions, out of the churches into which, as inviolable sanctuaries, the Irish used to remove them; only ordering, that a reasonable price should be paid to the rectors of such churches for all they took. Thus he shewed that his favouring the king of Ulster against Courcy proceeded not from dislike of the English government in Ireland, which his instructions and the interest of the Roman pontificate obliged him to support, but from a belief that the king, by submitting to pay tribute, might, agreeably to the spirit of the treaty between Henry and Roderick
O Conor,

O Conor, obtain peace and security in his own possessions; or, perhaps, from his knowledge that Fitzaldelm disapproved Curcy's enterprize against Ulster.

Soon after the dissolution of this legatine council, Milo de Cogan, now governor of the city of Dublin, and constable to Fitzaldelm, by the orders of that lord, undertook an expedition into Conaught, which no English army had ever entered before. There was at this time so violent a diffention between Roderick O Conor and his eldest son Murtach, that in consequence of it the young prince fled to Dublin, and incited Fitzaldelm to make war on his father, offering himself to conduct into the heart of his country the troops employed in this service. The occasion was tempting; as the discord in the royal family might probably arm one part of the people against the other, and help the English to subdue the whole of that yet unconquered realm. But Henry's treaty with O Conor was utterly inconsistent with such a proceeding. It must therefore be presumed, that something done by the latter in breach of that treaty, or some defect in performing the stipulated conditions, removed this objection. I do not find that the tribute he had promised to pay from his hereditary kingdom, and to levy from other districts, had been paid or levied by him; and this being the basis of the whole convention, a failure herein was enough to make it void. Certain it is that Fitzaldelm, whose general plan was pacifick, thought this service so necessary to his master's affairs, that, although the detachment, led by Curcy into Ulster against his will, had considerably weakened his force, he sent forty knights, two hundred horsemen of a rank inferior to those, and three hundred archers, under Milo de Cogan, to invade and ravage Conaught, as an enemy's country. They passed the Shannon, and ad-

Irish Annals.

vanced as far as Tuam unresisted; but where ever they came, they found all provisions, which were not concealed in subterraneous granaries, destroyed by the Irish, who, wanting time to remove them out of the houses or churches in which they had been stored, fired the villages and the towns, to consume all together, and retired themselves, with their families and their cattle, into the fastnesses of the mountains, or inaccessible woods. This answered their purpose; for the want of all necessaries forced the English to return at the end of eight days, without having gained any profit or advantage by this invasion. When they approached to the Shannon, Roderick O'Conor attacked them in a wood near that river with a numerous army, which nevertheless they broke through, losing only three horsemen, and got safely back to Dublin. Many of the Irish were slain; but Murtach, Roderick's son, (who probably had the command of some of the Leinster bands,) was taken in the action, and delivered up to his father, who punished his treason by putting out his eyes. It does not appear, that one chief, or any number of people belonging to Conaught, joined that prince in this war: so hateful to them all was his bringing English forces into that kingdom!

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Ireland being in this state, more authority and more strength in the government there were evidently wanting. The best measure (indeed one might say the only good one) would have been Henry's returning with a powerful army, and making some stay in that island. But any hope of his being able to do this was far distant. He had much to fear from his eldest son and from France; but, if those clouds which appeared to be pregnant with new storms should happily be dispersed, his reiterated promises to go to the holy war seemed to

to make it an indispensable obligation upon him to fulfil that engagement as soon as he should obtain a settled peace. Some method to supply (so far as it could be supplied) the want of his presence, was therefore to be sought; and he judged very truly, that the Irish nation, accustomed, through the course of many ages, to be governed by princes of as ancient royal blood as any in Europe, would not easily be kept patient under the rule of his servants, vested indeed with his power, and acting in his name, but not of very high birth. From these thoughts an inclination arose in his mind about this time, to give to one of his sons the dominion of Ireland, to be held as a great hereditary fief under himself and his heirs. Having built his own original claim to that kingdom on a grant from the see of Rome, he likewise thought proper to apply to the pope for his approbation of this intended infeoffment; which was readily granted; and the choice being left (as he had desired) to him, he determined to fix it on his youngest son, John. But that prince, being still a child, could not help him to subdue the yet unconquered parts; nor did he believe that the troops which he had in that island were equal to the task. He therefore wished to procure such an addition of strength, as might accomplish this purpose without further demands upon his own exchequer, which the late war had brought low, and which other great expences, going on and encreasing, threatened now to exhaust. This could only be effected by some nobleman of his kingdom undertaking the adventure at his own private charges, and with his own vassals. The earl of Chester, whose possessions and seignories were so vast, that he could not want either men, or money to pay them, in any enterprize he should form, and whose soldiers could so easily be transported from Cheshire and

North Wales into Ireland, seemed in every respect the properest for this service of all the English barons. Nor was it undesirable to remove that great lord, who had so lately rebelled, and, though pardoned, might again incline to rebel, out of the countries in which his forces lay, and employ his ambition in another island, while Henry might be abroad, engaged in a war with the king of France in that realm, or with Saladin in the East. From these motives that monarch, soon after the breaking up of the parliament of Windsor, in which he had restored to the earl all his castles, informed him of his present decided resolution to give Ireland to John in the manner above-mentioned, and ordered him to go and subdue it entirely to the young prince *and to him*. It must be understood, that in charging this lord with the burthen of such an undertaking, he promised to grant to him, under fealty and homage, whatever countries his arms should win from the Irish, not granted before to other subjects of England; yet reserving to himself the towns on the sea coast, and the districts of land round about them, as royal demesnes. But no charter to this effect appears; because the earl was prevented, by some cause not explained in the writings of those times, from pursuing this design. As he died in the spring of the year eleven hundred and eighty-one, it is not improbable, that ill health, coming upon him soon after he had received this commission, may have been his excuse for declining a warfare which required great exertions of activity and vigour. About the middle of May, in this year, eleven hundred and seventy seven, Henry declared to a parliament, assembled by him at Oxford, his grant of Ireland to John, his youngest son; which, being made in their presence, may be presumed to have had their approbation, and probably was not made

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1177.

Ib'dem.
See also
Hoveden.

made without their advice. After this sanction of it, he confirmed to Hugh de Lacy his former grant of Meath, but with these variations from the terms of the charter of the year eleven hundred and seventy-three, that this lord, for the future, was to hold that great province, with all its appurtenances, not only under him, but under him and his son, by the service of a hundred, instead of fifty knights. The province of Limerick, or North-Munster, which Donald O Brian had forfeited by repeated acts of treason, he bestowed on two brothers of Reginald earl of Cornwall, and on Josselin de Pumerai, their nephew; excepting the city and some adjacent parts, which he kept in his own hands *for himself and his heirs*. To Robert Fitz-Stephen and to Milo de Cogan, and their heirs after them, he granted the province, or (as it is styled in the charter) the *kingdom* of Cork, or South Munster, according to the limits there settled, *to be held of him and his son John, and of their heirs*, by the service of sixty knights, viz. thirty from each lord; and also gave them, *during pleasure and so long as they should serve him well*, the joint custody of the town of Cork, with the cantred annexed to it, which had belonged to the Ostmén of that city, and which he kept in his own hands. Among the subscribing witnesses to this charter we find William Fitzaldelm; and it also appears from the evidence of contemporary writers, that the custody of Dublin was taken from him at this time, and given to Hugh de Lacy, with the government of all Ireland. But Wexford, which the king had committed to him (Fitzaldelm) in the year eleven hundred and seventy-three, and had afterwards granted to Strongbow, was now restored to him, as a proper appendix to the custody of Leinster, with which he was entrusted. This province, or *realm* (as it had been called by the Irish,) on the de-

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 206.

Ibidem,
p. 207.

See the
Charter in
the Appen-
dix to this
book, from
Ware, p.
237, 238.

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 204. 208.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 18.

Hoveden,
pars poster.
ad an. 1177.

sease

cease of earl Strongbow appertained to the king, as supreme lord of the fief, in the infancy of the heir. We have no account to whose custody it had before been consigned. The husband of the earl's sister, Raymond Fitzgerald, seems naturally to have had the best pretensions to it : but a jealousy of him prevailed in Henry's mind, and was, probably, the chief cause of the preference given to Fitzaldelm. That the English settled in Leinster were governed at this time by the feudal laws of England, and that the Irish living there submitted to those laws, very different from their own as to the rules of succession, appears from this inheritance thus descending to an infant, and from the custody of it, during the minority, being taken by the king, and his appointment committed to one of his servants, without opposition from them. Whether the son, Strongbow left, was still alive, is doubtful : but he did not live long ; and the province, which that lord had gained by his marriage with the daughter of king Dermot, was inherited by their daughter, the lady Isabella, who remained until Henry's death a ward of the crown. What provision was made for the government of Ireland in the absence of Fitzaldelm, on his recall into England, we are not told.

Rot. Pat. 2.
Rich. III.
c. 8.

See also Har-
ris's Hiber-
nia, p. 122.

There is in that kingdom a remarkable statute of king Richard the Third, which expressly refers to and confirms one enacted by Henry the Second (called there Henry Fitz Empress) *for the election of a governor of Ireland, when it shall happen to be void of any lawful governor ; in which case it is declared, that, according to the tenor, usage, and execution of the said statute of Henry Fitz Empress, it shall be lawful for the chancellor and treasurer of Ireland and other officers therein mentioned, with the assent of the nobles of that land, as is specified in the same statute, to chuse a noble lord to be governor,*

governor, and to have the government as justice of Ireland, to hold and enjoy according to the antient usage used and executed from that time. Hence it plainly appears, that Henry the Second made statutes for the government of Ireland: but in what year of his reign this act was passed I cannot certainly tell; though, as John, his son, is not said to have joined with him in it, we may conclude it was prior to the grant to that prince. Fitzaldelm being defective in the military talents which the deputy's station required, it might now be adviseable to remove him from that post, and yet not improper to trust him with the administration of Leinster and the custody of Wexford; as those parts of Ireland were in a quieter state of subjection to the English, and less exposed to attacks from the unsubdued or rebellious Irish than any of the others. At the same time the king gave to Robert le Poer, a young gentleman who had greatly distinguished his valour in the battle near Down-Patrick, the government of Waterford, and settled the bounds of those districts which he chose should henceforth belong to that city, and to Wexford, and Dublin, with the feudal services due to each. Homage was done for these grants, by those who received them, to prince John and to him, before the parliament rose.

Benedict.
Abb. ad ann.
1177.
Hoveden,
Ibidem.

From all these acts it appears, that in giving to his son the dominion of Ireland, he was so far from separating it (as some have imagined) from England, by an absolute cession, that he rendered the whole kingdom a fief to be held under himself and his heirs, by liege homage and fealty; and even annexed to the proper demesne of the crown, in all perpetuity, the chief cities and harbours, with such territories as might suffice to maintain them; thus keeping in his own hands, and in those of his successors, a strong controul on the power

power of John and his heirs, if they ever should attempt to become independant on the sovereignty of England. Against the choice which he made of his youngest son for this grant there seems to have been one great objection, I mean the apparent incapacity of that prince, by reason of his infancy, to administer the government, for many years to come: whereas, had it been given to Richard, or Geoffrey, the first might have instantly taken upon himself both to rule and defend it, nor would the age of the latter have been long insufficient to qualify him for that charge. But, these princes having great dominions in France, it could not be expected that either of them would fix his residence in Ireland, which John, who had only a few castles on the continent, might more easily do, and which was requisite to be done for the finishing and maintaining of the conquests made in that isle. As for the young king of England, he and his queen would have thought the sending them to reside in such a barbarous country rather a banishment than a favour, and would, probably, have refused to go; nor could it be proper to keep the heir apparent to the crown, for any long time, out of England. Henry therefore could find no better expedient, than to constitute in the person of his youngest son John a governor of Ireland, who might give himself wholly up to the duties of that office, as soon as he should be of age, and sooth the Irish at this time with the prospect of a change to their future advantage. Nevertheless it is probable, that a fond affection for John, and desire to raise him to a state not inferior to that of his brothers, the dukes of Aquitaine and Bretagne, was a principal cause of this choice.

To

To the same parliament held at Oxford, in which these affairs relating to Ireland were settled, came David ap Owen, the king, or prince, of North Wales, Rees ap Gryffyth of South Wales, Owen Cyvelioc and all the most powerful chiefs of Powisland, with many other Welsh nobles, whom Henry had summoned to confer with him there upon the state of their country. To David ap Owen he had given in marriage his natural sister, named Emma, about the time when that prince had furnished him with those troops which helped to raise the siege of Rouen. This was a very wise measure; the Welsh, who made little difference between a legitimate or illegitimate birth where the father's blood was noble, esteeming such an affinity with the king of England an honour done by him to their nation; and a bond of union which rendered his sovereignty over them less offensive to their pride. The effect of it was, that North Wales remained faithful and affectionate to him, even until the end of his life. Rhee ap Gryffyth, at Christmas in the preceding year eleven hundred and seventy-six, had made a great feast in the castle of Cardigan, then called Abertivy, *"which he caused (says the Welsh chronicle) to be proclaimed through all Britain; and to which came many strangers, who were honourably received and worthily entertained, so that no man departed discontented."* I would observe hereupon, that this appears to have been the first carousal ever given, after the manner of the Normans, by any Welsh prince. The same chronicle adds, that, *"among deeds of arms and other shews, Rhee caused all the poets, or bards, of Wales to come thither, and provided chairs for them, to be set in his hall, where they should contend together, to try their skill and talents in their several faculties, and where great rewards and rich gifts were appointed for the victors."*

We

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1177.

We also learn from it, that in this poetical contest the bards of North Wales won the prize, but it says, *that the musicians of the prince's own household were accounted the best*; which shews that in Wales the bards and harpers at this time were different orders of men.

In thus regaling his guests with poetry and music, the Welsh prince kept up the antient custom of his country, and, by the number and skill of the poets and musicians he assembled together, did undoubtedly much excel what Henry could exhibit in the same way to him, and to the other chiefs of Wales, who were now entertained in the royal castle of Oxford. But Henry shewed himself a great master of the art of producing good harmony in a state; for he sent them all away well affected to his person and well disposed to his service. It is indeed no mean proof of the ability of this monarch, that he had so managed matters, as to make the Welsh valour, from which England had been used to suffer much damage and continual molestation, assist to overcome his enemies on the continent, and to acquire for himself and the successors to his crown the dominion of Ireland. Rhees, and David ap Owen, had particularly served him in the late war, when their enmity, or a cold indifference to his service, might have done him great mischief. Of this he expressed a just sense, by granting at this time to each of those princes a manor, or lordship, from his own demesnes in Wales, or from escheats in his hands; namely, to Rhees Meronidon, and to David Ellesmere, in return for which they both swore allegiance to him, and moreover took an oath to maintain a firm peace with the kingdom of England, which, I presume, he required, not in order to prevent their revolting against him, but to hinder their deciding any differences between them and the English lords of the marches, as
their

their nation was accustomed to decide all disputes among themselves, by instantly taking up arms.

About the latter end of May the royal army of England was, by Henry's command, assembled at Winchester, and almost the whole shipping of England and Normandy was collected together, at Portsmouth and Southampton, to transport them to Barfleur, when, the bishop of Bayeux arriving here from France, Henry, on the information this prelate brought to him of the state of things there, with the advice of his council dismissed his troops, but ordered them to reassemble at Winchester before the end of June. In the mean time he sent back the bishop of Bayeux, and with him two other churchmen, the archdeacon of Oxford and the bishop of Ely, to whom he joined in commission the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Winchester, who was then his justiciary in the dutchy of Normandy, and other lords of that country, instructing them to demand all the territory lying between Gisors and Pontoise (commonly called the French Vexin) in addition to the portion which the treaty of marriage had given to Margaret, his eldest son's wife, on the ground of a promise which her father had made to that young prince. They were also to ask the royal city of Bourges with all its appurtenances, promised by Louis to Richard, duke of Aquitaine, as a portion for that king's other daughter, Adelais, whom the duke was to marry. He further required, that Margaret, who, without his permission or knowledge, had gone from Normandy, big with child, to her father's court at Paris, should instantly be sent back: but, soon afterwards, she was brought to bed of a son, who lived only two days; and, before the term fixed for Henry's army to reassemble at Winchester, the bishop of Ely and the archdeacon of Oxford returned out of Normandy,

to

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 212, 213.
ad ann. 1177

Ibidem,
p. 214

Ibidem,
p. 226, 227.

to inform the king, what answer his eldest son had made to some orders delivered by them in his name; the purport of which we are not told. It is only said, that, the answer displeasing him greatly, he summoned thereupon all the bishops of England, to meet the barons and military tenants in chief, who were to attend him in arms at Winchester on the day appointed, and, by their joint advice, delayed the embarkation until the ministers he had sent to Louis should return, or until he should receive a messenger from them. On the twelfth of July one arrived, and brought him intelligence, that a cardinal legate in France had a mandate from the pope to put under an interdict all his dominions on both sides of the water, if he did not permit his son Richard to marry Adelaïs, whom, as designed for that prince, he had held in his custody longer than the term agreed upon with her father.

Ibidem,
p. 230.

It may seem strange, that the pope should interfere in this matter: for Richard had not been joined to this lady by any solemn espousals with the consent of both parties: but the treaty of Montmirail, in which it was covenanted, while he and she were both infants, that he should be her husband, had been sworn to by Henry; and the see of Rome in those days had arrogated to itself a spiritual jurisdiction in all contracts upon oath. Nevertheless this was certainly an extraordinary exertion of that usurped power, and must have been owing to some extraordinary cause. The king, alarmed by it, had recourse to a method which only served to gain time, ordering his bishops to appeal to Alexander himself from what might be done by the legate: but he hoped by negotiating personally with this minister, and through him with the pope, to bring the latter to act more favourably towards him, and, by carrying over
to

Ibidem,
p. 231.

to France a powerful army, to intimidate Louis. His residence for some time had been on the sea coast at the castle of Stansted near Portsmouth; but a wound in his leg, which, during the late civil war, he had got by an accidental kick from a horse, breaking out afresh there, he removed to Winchester, where he waited until the better air of that city had healed it again: after which he embarked, with all his forces, at Portsmouth, on the 18th of August, and landed in Normandy on the following day.

The writers of that age, too defective in the whole account of this business, have not explained by what means the young king of England, at whose behaviour his father had been lately much offended, was now reconciled to him: but we are told that they went together to Rouen on the eleventh of September, and were met there by the legate. All we know of what passed in this conference is, that no endeavours could shake the legate's resolution (founded, doubtless, on clear and positive orders, given by the pope) to put what he had threatened in immediate execution, if Henry should delay any longer to celebrate the stipulated marriage, which both the parties were now of an age to consummate. Perhaps Alexander knew, from the report made to him by cardinal Huguzon, that the motive of Henry's unwillingness to conclude it was a secret desire of wedding the princess Adelais himself, if he could by any means obtain that divorce, which Gervase of Canterbury says he had sued for to Rome when Huguzon was in England. If the pope had consented to such a separation, the king, freed from Eleanor, might have married this lady, as, in much later times, Philip the Second of Spain did a daughter of France contracted to his son, the unfortunate Don Carlos. But, if his Holiness had some notice, or barely a suspicion, of this intention in Henry,

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 232.

Ibidem,
p. 242. ad
ann. 1177.

Henry, he might the more obstinately refuse his consent to that divorce, and more vehemently press the conclusion of the marriage of Adelaïs with Richard, as the strongest bar to all hopes, which Henry might form, of ever succeeding in so unwise a purpose, suggested by a passion unbecoming his age and injurious to his fame.

However this may have been, when that monarch discovered, by his conference with the legate, that the sentence of interdict would undoubtedly be pronounced against all his dominions, if he did not obey the pope's mandate, he promised to do so, only begging for a respite until he had conferred with Louis. They accordingly met, on the twenty-first of September, attended by the principal nobles of both realms. It seems, the main obstacle to concord between them had been Henry's refusing to fulfil his engagement with regard to Richard's marriage : for, this point being yielded, all the others in dispute were either given up, or referred to arbitrators. As for the promise which Louis is said to have made to the young king, and to Richard, of the French Vexin and of the city of Bourges, if it was made while those princes were confederated with him in the war against Henry, that monarch could not decently insist on it now, when all the other conventions agreed upon at that time had been declared null and void. Yet it is not improbable that Louis might confirm the grant of Bourges, as a portion for his daughter, the princess Adelaïs, when her marriage with Richard should be fully accomplished ; because it does not appear that she was to have any other, and because he was certainly desirous to end all differences with Henry in an amicable way, that they might both take the cross, and go together into Palestine, for the defence of that country and the sepulchre of Christ against
the

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 243. ad
ann. 1177.

the infidels. His zeal in this cause had never cooled, and he thought it more necessary to exert it now, as the earl of Flanders was lately returned from those parts, without having done any service to the Christians whom he had gone to assist. Indeed, while that prince was ineffectually besieging the castle of Harenc in the territory of Antioch, the young king of Jerusalem, on the twenty-fourth of November in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, at the head of about three thousand men, had defeated a body of six and twenty thousand horse, commanded by Saladin, on the plains near to Rama : but this victory, gained by a sudden onset made upon them while they were in disorder, did not avail to prevent the earl, who was weary of the war, from raising his siege, and leaving Palestine, the next year, no stronger than it was before he came. In these circumstances, and under the government of a king who was only in the seventeenth year of his age, a more effectual aid from the European princes was apparently wanting, against Saladin's immense power, which the loss of one army had but little diminished. Sensible of this, and desirous of the spiritual benefits supposed to attend upon crusades, Louis resolved to take the cross, and urged Henry to join him in this pious design. Whether that prince did himself sincerely desire to go to the Holy War, (as the terms upon which he had received absolution and the oath he had taken required,) is not very certain : but he could not now plead (as he had hitherto pleaded) that impediments strong enough to excuse the violation of such a solemn engagement prevented his going. It is likewise highly probable, that the cardinal legate, whom Louis had sent for into France, was instrumental in bringing the English monarch to concur with the French in this purpose. At the end of their conference,

V. Gul. Tyr.
Bellii Sacri
l. xxi. 14—
25.

See Rymer's
Collection,
L. 1. p. 501.

conference, they notified to the world by a manifesto preserved among our records, that they had promised and sworn to take the cross, and go together to Jerusalem, for the service of christianity; and that each would defend, to the utmost of his power, the person, dignity, and dominions of the other.

The time of taking the cross was probably settled by another preceding convention referred to in this act. There is reason to believe, that some day in the summer of the next ensuing year, or, at latest, in the autumn, was fixed upon for it, and that, in the interim, the two kings agreed to prepare whatsoever was necessary for such an expedition. Provisions were made in the publick act above-mentioned for contingences that might happen, such as the death of either king on the road to Jerusalem, or one of them setting out for his pilgrimage thither before they had taken the cross. In the first of these cases, the liegemen who accompanied both kings were to swear, that they would serve the survivor, during his stay in the territories of the king of Jerusalem, with no less fidelity, than they would have served their own master, had he been living: and the money of the deceased, not otherwise disposed of before the beginning of their journey, was to be given to the survivor for the service intended to be done to religion. In the latter case, the king who stayed behind the other was to defend and protect the lands and subjects of him who went before, as faithfully as he would his own. A free intercourse to the merchants, and other subjects of both kings, as well clergy as laymen, in their respective countries, was granted on both sides; but neither was to harbour an enemy of the other in any of his lands, after having been required to drive him out. They further expressed their intentions of chusing some persons, to whom, if they both should chance to die
in

in the crusade, their money should be entrusted for the same use, and likewise the conduct and command of their forces. Lastly, they agreed, that they would, before they set out, when they had taken the cross, oblige those whom each of them should appoint to be governors and guardians of his territories during his absence, to bind themselves by an oath, that (if required) they would assist one another; so that Henry's vicerents should exert themselves to defend the dominions of Louis, as much as they would to defend the city of Rouen, if that was besieged; and the French should reciprocally defend those of Henry, in the same manner as they would the city of Paris.

These provisions were prudent; but the very want of them shews, what a folly it was for the sovereigns of great kingdoms to engage their own persons in these expeditions to countries so remote. It is true indeed that the growth of Saladin's power might give some alarm even to those Christian states that were not his near neighbours; but the proper method to stop it from extending further Westward would have been to assist with subsidiary forces the empire of Constantinople, which formed the most natural barrier against it, and annex to *that* all the conquests which such aid might enable the Greek emperor to obtain in Asia or Ægypt. A naval league, for the guard of the Mediterranean sea, between the Greeks, the Sicilians, the Italian states, and the French, might have also been useful. But the object of zeal to the Christians of the Latin communion was as much to keep the Holy Land out of the hands of the Greeks, whom they abhorred as schismatics, as out of those of the infidels themselves. Motives of bigotry, not of policy, produced all those enterprizes, which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, under the name

of crusades, almost dispeopled Europe. With regard to this, in which Louis and Henry combined, the first was a volunteer, but the other obeyed the repeated injunctions of Rome, which had made it a condition of his reconciliation and peace with the church, that he should take the cross. If Pope Alexander had been now contending with an anti-pope, supported against him, as before, by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and the whole Germanick body, he would not have suffered two kings, who favoured his cause, and whose protection he might want, to depart together, and leave him deprived of their aid, while they and their armies were fighting in the East against Mahometans: but a series of disgraces which had attended the emperor's arms in Lombardy, since his return to that country in the autumn of the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, and a total defeat at Lignano near Pavia, on the twenty-eighth of June in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, had forced that prince, notwithstanding the greatness of his spirit, to submit to his fortune, and acknowledge Alexander as lawful head of the church. The conditions of this reconciliation were settled, before the end of this year, by ministers sent from him to treat with that pontiff; and the next summer they met, on the twenty-fourth of July, in the city of Venice, at the door of St. Mark's church; where the emperor, falling at the feet of the pope, as a penitent sinner, on account of the schism in which he had been engaged, was absolved by him, and received the kiss of peace: in return for which he paid to Alexander all the honours which his predecessors had used to pay to former popes. By the same agreement a truce of fifteen years was granted to the king of Sicily, Alexander's faithful ally, and of six to the Lombards. Peace being thus restored, it became the interest of the pope, that the

Sigonius de
Regno Ital.
l. xiv.
Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 154.
Sigonius ut
suprà.

the kings of France and of England should take the cross: for, however detrimental crusades may have been to other Christian states, to the see of Rome they were always exceedingly gainful. Alexander therefore saw with pleasure, that the flame of enthusiasm was burning strong at this time in the bosom of Louis, and that he wished to begin another Holy War, forgetting the great mischiefs which his kingdom had suffered by the ill success of the former, or remembering them only to encrease his desire of pursuing the same purpose more fortunately now. Nor could the pontiff's sagacity overlook the advantage it would be to the church and see of Rome, that Henry should perform the whole penance enjoined him, in order to deter other kings, whose prerogatives clashed with any ecclesiastical or papal claims, from quarrelling with their bishops. We may also account, from the happy situation of Alexander's affairs in this year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, for his ordering his legate, in so peremptory a manner, to put Henry's dominions under an interdict, if he delayed his son's marriage; and for Henry's not daring to resent a proceeding so disagreeable to him, but promising to obey. That monarch could no longer avail himself of the menaces he had been used to throw out, that ill usage might force him to join with the emperor in supporting another pope, or of the fears which the coming of Frederick into Italy, at the head of an army, never failed to create in Alexander himself or the cardinals of his party. It may truly be said, that he and all other sovereigns, then reigning in Europe, were, together with Frederick, thrown at the feet of this triumphant pontiff. He therefore avoided, as cautiously as he could, to contend with a power he now despaired to resist, especially on a matter where the king of France would have been a principal in the quarrel.

All preliminaries relative to the crusade being settled, and peace with Louis secured, Henry sent into Berry his eldest son, the young king, at the head of an army, to recover a female ward, the daughter and heiress of Raoul de Deole, the richest baron of that province, whom her relations had taken into their custody, against the right of her lord. On the decease of her father, about the beginning of this year, the chief castle of the barony, named Chateauroux, had been yielded to this prince, who besieged it with the forces of Normandy and of Anjou; but the heiress, a child of three years old, had been carried away to La Châtre, by one of her family, and was still detained there; which obliged King Henry the elder, now, when nothing of more moment demanded his care, to order his son, who had left his work imperfect, to carry his arms again into that country. Three or four weeks having passed without their obtaining the desired success; he went himself with more troops, took possession of Chateauroux, which his son gave up to him, and marched from thence to La Châtre with intention to besiege it; but the lord of the castle, meeting him on his way, delivered to him the child, whom he sent to his fortress of Chinon in Anjou. The barony of Chateauroux, in which was contained a great part of Berry, was an ancient appurtenance of the duchy of Aquitaine; but what services were due from it to the king of France was one of those questions, which Louis and Henry had lately referred to an amicable arbitration. It seems there was no doubt of Henry's right to the custody of the lands and the heiress: for Louis did not complain of the force employed by him to obtain possession of them, while the other dispute was depending. This affair being ended, the king of England left Berry and went into the Limosin, where he proceeded judicially against the nobility and

and gentry of that province, whom he fined in proportion as each of them, on conviction, was found to deserve. The abbot of Peterborough says, this was done on account of their having taken part with his sons against him in the late intestine war : but there certainly must have been some more recent offences committed by these persons, which deprived them of the benefit of the amnesty granted to all the other rebels.

About the feast of St. Martin, Louis and Henry met again, to conclude another controversy concerning the feudal dependance of Auvergne, which, with that of Chateauroux and some smaller fiefs in Berry, had, by virtue of a clause in the late convention between them, been left to the decision of three bishops and three barons named therein by each king, who were to enquire by themselves, and by the oaths of the principal men of those countries, into the rights of each claimant. All the nobles of Auvergne were summoned to this meeting ; and Henry asked them, what right his predecessors, dukes of Aquitaine, had in Auvergne. They unanimously answered, that the whole province, except the bishoprick of Clermont, which belonged to the patronage of the king of France, had been subject, from old times, to the government of those princes. But Louis not being satisfied with this affirmation, the twelve arbitrators were directed to make a further enquiry, and both monarchs agreed to acquiesce in their verdict, which they swore to give without favour. This deserves observation, as it shews that inquisitions upon the oaths of twelve men were used in France at this time.

From this conference Henry went to Grati-mont in La March, where Audebert, earl of La Marche, a vassal of Aquitaine, having lost his only son, and desiring to dedicate the rest of his life to the service of God in the Holy Land, sold to that king

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1177.

Idem ibid.
Robertus de
Monte, ad
ann. 1177.

Benedict.
Abb. c. 1. ad
ann. 1177.

king the property of his county for fifteen thousand pounds of Angevin money, twenty mules, and twenty palfreys. This mode of devotion occasioned the reuniting of many large territories, by sales of a like nature, to the demesne of great princes.

Idem ibid.

*Item, ad
ann. 1178.*

After this acquisition, confirmed by the homage of the vassals of La Marche, earls, barons, and knights, which they paid to Henry, as immediate lord of their fiefs, in the month of December, nothing happened of moment to the interests of that prince till the following summer, when the king of France, at his request, took all his dominions belonging to that kingdom under his own protection, in case of his going (as he intended to do) into England. This was extending the promise of mutual defence, which each had given to the other, beyond the former compact; and Henry's asking it proves, that some unquiet suspicions, remaining in his mind, made him afraid to leave his son, the young king, in France, without receiving from Louis, even during the time of his abode in England, this extraordinary security, which that monarch granted to him by a publick declaration. About the middle of July, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, he landed at Weymouth, from whence he proposed to go to Becket's tomb; (a pilgrimage now become habitual to him!) but being informed, on his way, that the Queen of France's brother, William, archbishop of Rheims, to which see he had lately been translated from Sens, was coming to Canterbury with the same intention, he staid in or about London till he heard of that prelate's being landed at Dover, and then went to meet him on his road to Canterbury, and conducted him to the tomb, where they joined in performing their devotions to Becket. William had been the most zealous friend of that prelate, and therefore Henry's most

most bitter and implacable enemy, in the whole realm of France. With how malignant a pleasure must he now have beheld the humbled king on his knees, before the dead corpse of a seditious subject, who had resisted his laws, insulted his authority, and offended his person!

This scene being ended, Henry knighted at Woodstock Geoffry, duke of Bretagne, who, to shew himself a good knight, passed over into Normandy, and held tournaments on the confines of that dutchy and France, in which he emulously strove to equal the reputation of his two elder brothers, Henry and Richard, who were famous for their prowess in combats of this nature. A contemporary writer says, "there was in all these three princes the same desire to excel in arms, *which art was taught by these preludes.*" But Richard practised, with more glory, what his brothers were thus learning. For he took, this year, many towns and castles in Aquitaine, held against him by powerful and rebellious barons, among which was Taillebourg, belonging to Geoffry de Rançon, which had hitherto been esteemed an impregnable fortress. Having performed these exploits, to his father's great satisfaction, he waited on him in England, where one should have supposed that his long-expected marriage with Adalais of France would have now been accomplished: but Henry still put it off, without any pretence, at this time, to justify the delay, and notwithstanding the promise he lately had given to the pope and to Louis: so that Richard, after staying in the English court all the autumn, returned to Poitou unmarried.

Benedict.
Abb. t. i. ad
ann. 1178.
Brompton.

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 266.

At the beginning of the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, Henry being at Windsor, there came to him many Irish, complaining that Hugh de Lacy, Fitzaldelm, and others, whom he had set over them, made an unjust and a violent use of

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 220.

Girald.
Cambr.
Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 18.

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 204, 205.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. ut su-
pra.

of their power. It has already been told, in what manner the administration of Ireland had been settled by the king in the parliament held at Oxford, about the middle of May in the year eleven hundred and seventy seven, and how he had disposed of the principal fiefs and offices in that kingdom. But, in the following month of June, the earl of Cornwall's two brothers, and Josselin de Pomerai their nephew, came to him at Marlborough, and gave up the grant of the realm of Limerick (or North-Munster) which they had received from him and his son John, to be divided among them; because the country was yet to be won from the Irish, and they did not, on reflection, or on better information, think it prudent to engage in so hazardous an adventure. Nevertheless an English baron named Philip de Breuse, (or Brause) who had already some lands in the neighbourhood of that realm, received a grant of the whole, except the town of Limerick and territory about it, under the king and Prince John, to be held as a barony by the service of sixty knights. Before the end of the year Hugh de Lacy took possession of the royal city of Dublin, and entered upon his office of deputy or lieutenant to Henry in Ireland, besides holding in fee, under the king and his son, the entire province of Meath. A friendly partition was made, between Milo de Coghan and William Fitz-Stephen, of the kingdom of Cork (or South-Munster). The city of Wexford, with all Leinster, was under the custody of William Fitzaldelm; and Waterford, to which an ample territory belonged, was governed by Robert le Poer. Many English knights and squires had been sent into Ireland with and under these commanders, in addition to the troops which were before in that island. Through the terror of these forces the Irish king (or prince) of Desmond, and some other chiefs in those parts, who, while Lacy and

and the officers above-mentioned were absent, had begun to take up arms, were brought to lay them down, and suffer quietly the division of the kingdom of South-Munster between Cogan and Fitz-Stephen. This being finished, those two lords, at the head of their own vassals, went with Philip de Breuse, to help him to subdue the realm of Limerick (or North-Munster). He had also a band of his own, which, together with theirs, made a body of two hundred and twenty horse, besides many archers on foot. This army advanced to the margin of the Shannon, from whence Philip de Breuse taking a view of the city on the other side of the water, and seeing that it had been set on fire by the Irish, declined the offer, which his two confederates made him, of passing the river, with him, or of assisting him to build a fort on that side, which might bridle the town, and command the navigation, and from thence he might infect the neighbouring country. This despondency was not caused by want of courage in him, but by the advice of his friends, who thought it would be difficult for him and the soldiers serving under his banner, to maintain themselves in a land so hostile and remote from all the other English forts. Their opinion might be prudent; yet it was not in the spirit of the English chivalry, which had enabled a few adventurers of that nation, with infinite odds against them, to make and keep such great conquests in different parts of Ireland. The return of this army, without their having ventured to go over the Shannon, or do any brave act, brought some blemish on their glory in the minds of the Irish, and more especially on the character of Philip de Breuse, who had taken from King Henry a useless grant of lands, the possession of which he now despaired to acquire.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. at
supra.

The

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 16.

Irish Annals,
Continuator
of Tyger-
nach MSS.
ad ann. 1177.

Hanmer's
Chron. of
Ireland.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. ut
supra.

The transactions in Ulster, during the course of the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, were much more to the honour of the valiant John de Curcy. About the end of the month of June he won a second victory over the Irish of the province of Down, with a very small number against a great multitude, amounting (as it is said) to fifteen thousand men, and afterwards vanquished the people of Tyrone and Monaghan in two successive engagements. But, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, having taken from the Irish of the county of Louth a vast booty of horned cattle, and driving them through narrow passes, he was attacked in those streights by Mac Dunlevy and O Carol, the chief potentates of Ulster, with such success, that, after many sharp conflicts, the frightened cattle trampling down and routing his soldiers, of whom many were slain and the rest dispersed in the woods, he and eleven of his horsemen made a wonderful retreat, in two days and two nights, without either food or rest, to his castle near Down-Patrick, pursued and harassed by the enemy during their whole march, which was of thirty miles, and forced to walk under the heavy load of their armour, all their horses being killed long before they got thither. The conquests of Curcy were checked by the loss he had suffered; and, for some time afterwards, he could do no more than defend those districts of land, which he had secured by small forts and plantations of soldiers. Nor was any thing further attempted in the countries south of Ulster, by the English of those parts, during the course of the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, except the building of castles, which, however, was a useful and necessary work, for the preservation of all that had before been gained.

On what grounds the complaints, brought to Henry by the Irish, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine, were founded, history does not inform us; but we are told, the impression they made on him was such, that Lacy and Fitzaldelm lost his favour a long time on that account; and it may be presumed he redressed the wrongs they had done; but yet he did not recall either of them from Ireland.

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 287, 288.

While the king was at Windsor, the archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, with five or six Irish bishops, came to ask his permission to go into Italy to a general council, which pope Alexander the Third had summoned to assemble in the Lateran church at Rome. The submission of the emperor Frederick to this pontiff having induced the forsaken and now despairing antipope, Calixtus the Third, to kiss the foot of his adversary and implore his forgiveness, on the twenty-ninth day of August in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, Alexander thought it was expedient to give laws to the church at the head of a synod subjected to his will, and accordingly sent his orders, into most parts of Europe, for the convening thereof on the first Sunday in Lent of the following year. These were brought into England by a legate *à latere*: and another, whose commission was to Galloway, Scotland, Ireland, and the isle of Man, passed through England in the year eleven hundred and sixty-eight, but could not obtain the king's permission to do it, without taking an oath, that he would return through that kingdom, and would not do any thing to the prejudice of it in the course of his legation. A like security was required, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, from the prelates of those countries, in their passage through England. From that kingdom many abbots, but only four bishops (namely those of Durham, Oxford, Hereford,

Hoveden, ad
ann. 1179.
Benedict.
Abb. ibidem.

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 269, 270.

and

Hoveden, ad
ann. 1179.
Neubrigenfis
l. iii. c. 2.
Duceto, col.
603.
Benedict.
Abb. add.
ann. 1179.

and Bath) were deputed. Hoveden says, the English bishops asserted it as a right, that no more should be ever sent to any general council. But many more were now summoned, and some who from age, or infirmity, or other sufficient excuses, were manifestly unable to take such a journey. These were forced to redeem themselves by sums of money extorted most scandalously from them; and this method of filling the treasury of the pope is complained of in strong terms, even by the monks who then wrote. It is indeed very wonderful to see what a number of extraordinary ways and means the inexhaustible invention of the court of Rome found out, to supply its avarice, in those days! But the clergy had no right to murmur at a tyranny which they themselves had set up and continued to maintain against the civil powers.

V. Authors
citas, &
Bromton
Chron. ad
ann. 1179.

At this council (the third of those called Lateran) which met on the fifth of March, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, three hundred bishops were present. The pope presided over them, in the highest pride of his power, attended by all the college of cardinals, by the senators and chief magistrates of Rome, and by ambassadors from the emperor and most of the kings and princes of the Latin communion.

His first object was, to settle the manner of electing future popes, for the prevention of schisms: and it was therefore ordained, by one of the canons here made, that, henceforth, the concurrence of two thirds of the electors should be necessary to make a lawful pope: but the same canon declares, "that in the elections of all other bishops
" a majority of votes should suffice; because,
" there, any doubt concerning the number or legality of the votes, might be decided by the judgment of a superior: *but, in what concerned the
" see of Rome, recourse could not be had to any
" superior.*"

This

This assertion entirely overturned the right, claimed and exercised by all the princes in Europe, even during the long schism preceding this council, to judge by national synods of controverted elections of the bishops of Rome; and established in that see a total independence on all other powers, civil or ecclesiastical.

Alexander's next object was, to confirm and secure to the body of the clergy their claim of exemption from all secular burthens and secular jurisdiction. He therefore forbade, by the authority of this council, all rulers and magistrates, under the penalty of excommunication, to lay any taxes on the lands of the clergy, or take any thing from them, unless by the voluntary consent of the bishops and clergy themselves, when they saw the necessity or expediency of relieving the publick wants, and where it appeared that the abilities of the laity could not suffice to answer the demand.

Another canon excommunicated any lay person, who should presume to judge a bishop, or any ecclesiastick.

Thus were the highest and most inalienable rights of civil government taken from it, by the decrees of this council, without opposition on the part of the many sovereign princes, whose ambassadors were present and represented them there!

As the spirit of dominion in the Roman pontificate, and in the whole popish clergy, has been always attended by its guard and support, the spirit of persecution, this assembly was careful to enforce the anathemas of the council of Tours, against the sect which had lately discovered itself in the city and district of Toulouse, from whence it had spread so far, and with so quick an increase, that, the year before this, the kings of France and of England, in a council held on that subject,

Benedit.
Abb. t. i. ad
Ann. 1178.

had

had been induced, at the instigations of a cardinal legate, and of many of their bishops, to resolve to go and subdue these enemies to the church, (of whose doctrines some account has already been given in a former part of this work) by force of arms. But they afterwards thought it better to commission the legate, the archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne, the bishops of Bath and Poitiers, the abbot of Clairvaux, and many other churchmen, in conjunction with the earl of Toulouse himself and other nobles the most powerful in the southern parts of France, to enquire after them, and convert them to the catholick faith, or drive them out of those countries.

Ibidem.

The first proceedings of these inquisitorial commissioners began at Toulouse, where they apprehended a gentleman of considerable wealth, who was the lord of two castles, one within the city walls and one without, on information that he had, before their arrival, openly been of that sect which they came to extirpate, though he had since through fear of them, professed himself a good catholick. On examination, the legate and bishops declared him a manifest heretick, and gave sentence that his whole estate should be forfeited, and his castles demolished. To prevent the execution of this decree, he threw himself at their feet, and implored them to forgive and instruct him in the faith he ought to receive. Whereupon they commanded him, as a penance for the errors into which he had fallen, to be whipt through all the streets and alleys of the city. He submitted to this inhuman discipline, and then made, in their presence, a publick profession of the Roman-catholick faith; yet they would not absolve him, without his promising to go in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and not return into France before the end of three years. This condition being also agreed to by him, they interceded with his lord, the earl of Toulouse,

louse, that he might be allowed, when the term of his pilgrimage was fulfilled, to dwell in peace at Toulouse, and that, on paying a fine of five hundred pounds to the earl, all his possessions should be then restored to him, except his two castles, which (as a memorial of the infamy incurred by his heresy) should be levelled to the ground.

The terror of this example brought many other hereticks to make a secret and voluntary confession of their errors to the legate and bishops, from whom they obtained absolution. But some of the chief preachers and directors of the sect, whom the earl of Toulouse and other noblemen of those parts had expelled from their territories, having appealed to the legate, and desiring to be heard before him and the bishops joined in commission with him, in order to clear themselves of the heresies they were charged with, a safe conduct was granted to them, and they were ordered to make a profession of their faith in St. Stephen's church at Toulouse. On the morning of the day appointed for this act, they delivered and read to the legate and bishops a written declaration of the several articles of their belief in the vulgar tongue of their country. But those prelates required them to give an account of their faith in Latin, because they did not perfectly understand the dialect used in those parts, *and because* (says the legate in a narrative which he published of what passed on this occasion) *the gospels and epistles, to which they affirmed that their faith was conformable, were written in Latin.* Yet, their ignorance of that language appearing to be such, as that one of them, who attempted to speak for them in it, was unable to go on, the prelates condescended to hear them in their own. The declaration they made was perfectly agreeable to the doctrines of Rome; and they were therefore allowed to repeat it in the church, where the earl of

Benedict.
Abb. ut
suprà.

of Toulouse and a great congregation of laymen and priests were assembled. When they had been patiently heard, the legate demanded of them, whether they really believed in their hearts what they had declared with their mouths; and whether they never had preached any doctrines repugnant thereunto? They affirmed their sincerity, and denied the having preached any contrary doctrines. Whereupon many persons, both ecclesiasticks and laymen, in which number was the earl of Toulouse himself, stood up and asserted their knowledge of the falshood of this denial. Some maintained their having heard from several of these men, that there are two Gods, one good, the other evil, the former of whom had made only the invisible, the latter the visible world. Others affirmed, they had heard them publickly preach, that the body of Christ could not be made by the ministry of a criminal priest. Many attested their having heard them deny, that married persons, performing the duties of that state, could be saved. Others deposed, that they had heard them say, baptism was useless to infants, and many other things, which the legate suppressed in the narrative which he published, on account (as he says) of their abominable enormity. Nevertheless, as they still continued to insist on the truth and sincerity of their declaration, the legate required them to confirm it by an oath; which they obstinately refused, as forbidden by Christ in that precept of the gospel, *Swear not at all*. This their judges considered as a proof of their heresy; and the other testimonies appearing sufficient to convict them, and more witnesses offering to depose against them, they were admonished by the legate to acknowledge their errors and be reconciled to the church; but they refused so to do. Hereupon they were solemnly excommunicated by the legate; and, if they should, for the future, presume to preach any doctrine

doctrine contrary to the profession they had made of their faith before this assembly, all good catholics, who should hear them, were ordered to expel them from their society. They would hardly have been suffered to escape at this time without corporal punishment, if the safe-conduct, granted to them by the earl of Toulouse and the legate, had not protected them.

It appears, I think, very clearly, from the legate's whole account of this extraordinary proceeding, that these were not of the sect known by the name of Vaudois, (as some modern writers suppose) but were *Cathari* (or Puritans), called also *Bons hommes*, and *Publicans* and *Paterini*, who held many tenets of the Manichæan hereticks, mixed with other opinions, common to them and the Vaudois, against the doctrines and hierarchy, and superstitious practices of the church of Rome. For it is certain, the latter were entirely free from the Manichæan errors, and would not have consented to a publick confession of the Roman-catholic doctrines, as the true Christian faith, even to save their own lives. But we know from other accounts, that the *Cathari* thought it lawful to dissemble in these points, and had secret or inward doctrines. It seems indeed, from what happened in this examination, that they scrupled to *swear* to their belief of opinions which they falsely professed: yet at the end of their written declaration of their faith they had inserted these words, "*In truth, which is God, we thus believe, and say that this is our faith;*" which (as the legate observes) is really an oath! One cannot wonder that such illiterate men, preaching what they themselves had only learnt from traditions obscurely handed down, should fall into great inconsistencies and absurdities; nor that many of their sect should differ from each other in articles of belief. I will only add, that, notwithstanding the severe inquisition

sition carried on at this time, we do not find that a single evidence of any criminal act, punishable by the lay courts, was brought against any of them: which affords a strong presumption of an extraordinary innocence in their course of life; or, at least, their vices were most cautiously hidden by the discipline they observed among themselves, however abominable some of the opinions they held might be.

Benedict.
Abh. ad ann.
1179.

Nothing further was done in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, or after that time, by the commissioners above-mentioned; yet it appears that the business on which they were sent was far from being accomplished: for, the next year, it seemed necessary to the Lateran council, that a canon should be made, to excommunicate all the *Catbari* in the southern parts of France, as audacious hereticks, who openly propagated their notions, and likewise *all who afforded them harbour or protection in their houses or lands, or traffick with them*; declaring, that any persons who should die in that sin should have no benefit from any indulgence granted to them, or from any oblation made for them, nor be allowed christian burial.

If the opinions of these *Catbari* were really such as we find them represented, it must be confessed that the spiritual censures of the church were not unjustly or improperly denounced against them: but the endeavouring to take from them all necessary means of procuring a subsistence, and so destroying their lives, was a cruelty as repugnant to the spirit of christianity, as the worst errors into which their ignorance and simplicity had unhappily been betrayed. It is also certain that many who held none of those errors, but only joined them in opposing the flagrant corruptions of the church of Rome, were in the following century confounded with them, and involved in the massacre, which, under the orders of Simon de Montfort, the general

neral of the pope, deluged all the south of France with innocent blood.

A much more justifiable crusade was set on foot by this council against the Brabanters, who, after King Henry had dismissed them from his service, (which, to his honour, he did as soon as ever the peace with his sons was concluded) had joined other bands of mercenaries and freebooters, in Biscaye, Navarre, and the confines of Arragon, where they committed all kinds of depredations and villanies, not sparing even convents or the persons of the clergy, which last offence drew upon them the particular indignation of this assembly of prelates, who excommunicated them with all their favourers and abettors, confiscated all their goods, permitted Princes to reduce them to a state of slavery, and excited all Christians to take up arms against them, by granting to those who should engage in this warfare the privileges and indulgences annexed to the visitation of the holy sepulchre of Christ.

Benedict.
Abb. ut fu-
pra.

Other canons were made, to separate the clergy more and more from the laity, to put them under a stricter ecclesiastical discipline, and to remedy some abuses and scandals prevailing at that time in the church. There was one against *pluralities*, which might have been of good use, if it had not been relaxed by papal dispensations, and rendered of no benefit, unless to fill the pope's coffers by the influx of money, with which the liberty to hold any number of benefices was frequently purchased.

Ibidem.

In relating the affairs of the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, I mentioned a synod which the archbishop of Canterbury held at Westminster, on ecclesiastical matters, with King Henry's permission. Several canons, collected from different foreign councils, some ancient and some modern, or from papal decrees and epistles, were, by this assembly, ingrafted into our constitution. One of

Benedict.
Abb. t. i. ad
ann. 1175.

these, which was taken from a decretal epistle of Pope Alexander the Third to the bishop of Worcester, obliged all clergymen, not below the degree of sub-deacons, if they married in that state, to put away their wives, however unwilling ; and denied to those of an inferior degree, who were married, any benefice in the church. . . It likewise forbade the sons of parish-priests to succeed to their fathers in their parsonages ; which shews that till then it was not unusual in England for priests to have sons, and provide for them in that manner. But, to check the licentiousness which naturally sprung from the forced celibacy of the clergy, it was enacted, that any beneficed clergyman who publickly kept a concubine, if he would not part from her after a third admonition, should be punished by deprivation. Clandestine marriages were forbidden, under the penalty of three years suspension to the priest officiating in them ; and marriages made in the infancy of both or either of the parties, were also prohibited, unless they should be necessary as a bond of peace between princes ; in which case they were *tolerated*, yet so as to have no effect, if both the parties, when they came to an age of discretion, did not consent thereunto ; without which, it was expressly declared by this canon, no marriage could be good. Others were enacted, to regulate the apparel of the clergy, to keep them out of taverns, to prevent their bearing of arms, and to confirm one, received before in this realm, which forbade them to judge in any criminal cause, where the sentence might extend to the shedding of blood. This now was enforced, by declaring that whoever offended against it should be deprived of his orders. It was also forbidden, under the penalty of excommunication, that any priest should accept the office of a sheriff, or other president in any secular court. The general

neral council of Lateran, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, went further still, and declared, that no clergyman should presume to be an advocate in any secular cause, unless he pleaded for himself, or for the church, or, out of charity for the poor; and that none should execute the office of justiciary to a prince or secular person, under the penalty of losing the ecclesiastical ministry which he thus neglected. Nevertheless it appears, that, even after this canon had been promulged, in the same year, eleven hundred and seventy-nine, the bishops of Salisbury, Norwich, and Ely, presided in the king's court, as chief justices of the realm; for which Radulf de Diceto, a contemporary writer, apologizes in his annals, as done with a good intent, and for the better administration of the publick justice, though contrary to the canons.

Benedict.
Abb. t. i. ad
ann. 1179.

Col. 606.
inter Decem
Script. ad
ann. 1179.

There is some reason to think, that one cause of King Henry's appointing these prelates to the office above-mentioned was a letter written to him, about this time, by Peter of Blois, complaining of abuses and oppressions of the poor in the sheriff's courts and forest courts, and even of some errors, partialities, and corruptions, in the inquests which the king's itinerant justices made in their circuits; for the remedying of which this well-intentioned monitor exhorted that prince, with a most laudable zeal, to give a careful attention to the choice of all those whom he entrusted with any judicial offices.

Epist. 95.

One might suppose, from the words of Abbot Benedict, that, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, the king, on account of the burthensome charges, which the too great number of his itinerant justices brought on his people, had put a stop to their circuits, and had ordered that all suits, which used to be heard before them, should be tried by five judges, resident in his own court, and chosen out of his own household; three of which
number

T. i. p. 264.

number were churchmen. But it appears by the rolls of the years eleven hundred and seventy-eight and eleven hundred and seventy-nine, that pleas were held in those years by itinerant justices, as before, through all the English counties; and among those justices none of the clergy are mentioned. Yet the testimony of this historian and of Hoveden, not being contradicted by the evidence of records, may establish the belief that the kingdom was divided into four circuits, instead of six, by the king, with the advice and consent of parliament, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine; though the names of the justices who went those circuits, and the countries assigned to them, are not the same in their accounts as in the rolls. And we know by other proofs, that the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and Norwich, were in that year chief justices (*archi-justitiiarii*) in the king's court. For, besides that this fact is positively affirmed by Radulf de Diceto, there is extant a letter, from Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, to the pope, which shews that complaints had been carried to that pontiff against those three prelates, for having taken on themselves this secular charge, to the utter neglect of their spiritual duties, and from a sinful love of gain. They moreover were accused of having even interfered in cases of blood; on which account they were forced, *as men of blood*, to abstain from the sacrament of the Lord's supper and other sacred functions. It also appears that the pope had threatened the archbishop to punish him, if he did not punish them according to the canons. The truth of the accusation with respect to their interfering in cases of blood, and entirely neglecting their episcopal duties, was denied by the primate; but he acknowledged and justified their attendance on the king in secular business, observing "that for bishops to be present and assistant in councils of kings was no new thing; because, as they

Benedict.

Abb.

Hoveden, ad
ann. 1179.

Apud Decem
Script. col.
666.

Petri Blesen-
sis Epist. 84.

“ they excelled others in virtue and wisdom, so
 “ they were thought to proceed with more readi-
 “ nels and efficiency in the administration of the
 “ publick weal.” He cited several precedents out
 of the Old Testament, to prove that priests had
 interfered; with great benefit to the state, in the
 business of kingdoms; and added, “ that, if the
 “ above-mentioned bishops had not been counsel-
 “ lers and intimate friends to the king, the pre-
 “ sumption of the laity would have greatly oppress’d
 “ the church; but now, through their credit and
 “ mediation with him, attempts against it were de-
 “ feated by the aid of the civil power; the anger of
 “ the king and the rigour of justice against the
 “ harmless, or the simple were properly miti-
 “ gated; the suits of the poor were heard, their
 “ indigence was relieved; the dignity of the
 “ church was exalted; the liberty of the clergy
 “ was confirmed; the people enjoyed peace, the
 “ monasteries quiet; justice was administered
 “ freely; pride was depress’d; the devotion of the
 “ laity was augmented; religion was cherish’d;
 “ the canon laws and decrees of Rome were ac-
 “ cepted and enforced; the possessions of the
 “ church were enlarged. Nor did these prelates
 “ fail to attend divine worship in their several ca-
 “ thedrams on days of great solemnity: whereas the
 “ bishops in Sicily did not stir from the court for
 “ ten years together; which excessive attachment
 “ to it, the archbishop told the pope, he would
 “ wish to restrain in those of his province: but
 “ their cohabitation with the king seem’d expedi-
 “ ent to wife and prudent men for the reasons be-
 “ fore given; and therefore, even if they, on ac-
 “ count of the many and great inconveniencies of
 “ such a course of life, should most earnestly de-
 “ sire to withdraw themselves from it, they ought
 “ to be forced, by the common advice of their
 “ brethren,

“ brethren, to continue in it, for the sake of public utility and the service of the church.”

Col. 606.
apud Decem
Scriptores.

Indeed the point was perplexing; for, if, on one side, to separate the church from the state, and to disentangle the clergy from all civil connexions, was of very important use to the monarchy of the pope; on the other, to take from them all civil jurisdiction, and exclude them from the councils and courts of kings, was very dangerous to the power and interests of the church in the several Christian states. A medium therefore was observed: the canons which confined them to their spiritual functions, and to the exercise of their own ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were not repealed; but the violation of them was connived at, as the expediency of affairs, the ambition of churchmen, and the policy of the see of Rome, occasionally required. Radulf de Diceto affirms, that the English prelates above-mentioned heard only such causes in the king's court as did not tend to bring on any shedding of blood: but it appears, from a treatise of Peter de Blois on the office of a bishop, written after this time, that the English clergy supposed, they satisfied the obligation laid upon them by the canons not to interfere in such causes, by withdrawing themselves when a sentence of death or loss of limbs was pronounced, and from the execution thereof; which evasion he censures as a damnable sin: and certainly it was not according to the letter or spirit of those laws, which they had acknowledged and caused to be received in this kingdom.

Patri Blac.
Hist. 75.
V. Append.

But there is extant a most remarkable letter, written to the three bishops of Salisbury, Norwich, and Ely, by the archbishop of Canterbury, about this time, in which he exhorts them to use their utmost endeavours to abolish a most pernicious custom, which had prevailed in the church of England for some time past. “ If (says he) a Jew, or “ the meanest layman, be murdered, sentence of “ death

“death is immediately pronounced against the murderer; but, if a clergyman of whatever rank be murdered, the church, content with excommunicating the murderer, does not call in the help of the material sword.” He then observes, “that Peter’s sword, being grown rusty, and no longer able to cut, was despised.”

The consequences of this state of things he describes in very strong colours. “If (says he) a goat or sheep be stolen or killed, he who is found guilty of it, or confesses the deed, is sentenced to be hanged: but the murderers of a clergyman, or even of a bishop, are sent to Rome, and, after a pleasant journey thither, return from thence with the fullness of apostolical favour, and a greater boldness in sinning. *The king claims to himself the vengeance of such enormous crimes; but we, at the risk of our eternal salvation, reserve it to ourselves*; the effect of which is, that impunity is established, and the swords of the laity are whetted by us against our own throats.” Of this the archbishop gives a shocking instance.

“A priest at Winchester (says that prelate) of good reputation for his learning and morals, was lately murdered maliciously by William Frechet and his wife; nor do they deny the fact; but they are setting out to go to the court of Rome: for the husband confides in the beauty of his wife, and proposes, by prostituting her in his journey, to bring back great profits, besides the benefit of absolution from Rome. It is ignominious that the killing of a goat or a sheep should be punished with more severity than the killing of a priest. *But we deserve this and worse, because, with a rash ambition, we usurp a jurisdiction belonging to another, and to which we have not the least title.*”

This

This proposition, so contrary to the tenets of Becket, he supports by strong reasons, by clear authorities from the scriptures, by canons of councils, by citations from the fathers, and even from the epistles of some of the more ancient popes, after which he concludes with this exhortation, "*Rendering therefore unto God the things which are God's, and unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, let us, according to the king's request, leave to him the vengeance of such heinous offences.*"

Dileto, col.
601. ad ann.
1178.

From this letter, of which a transcript is given in the appendix to this book, it evidently appears, that the promises made to cardinal Huguzon and the pope, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, by the king, had not taken effect; but that he was endeavouring, with the help of the archbishop of Canterbury and the three prelates above-named, to exercise the jurisdiction of his own royal courts over all murderers without exception, and bring the clergy to agree, for the sake of their own safety, to give up the pretended privilege of the church, which exempted them from his justice in criminal cases of so atrocious a nature. Yet we find by a letter from Alexander to the bishops of London and Winchester, dated the first of October in the year eleven hundred and seventy-eight, that the agreement between the king and him, of which Huguzon had been the negociator, was so far ratified on his part, as to procure from him an acknowledgment of the right of the king to try in his civil courts all causes relating to possessions, not excepting those in which the church was concerned. But his holiness had not granted, nor shewn any disposition ever to grant, what Gervase of Canterbury says was the principal object which that prince had in view, when he desired that Huguzon might be sent to him, namely, a divorce, by the authority of the see of Rome, from Eleanor, his wife.

And

And this probably was the cause why the king now departed from what had then been settled between him and the legate, and sought to regain a more compleat jurisdiction over the clergy in criminal matters, than his promises to the pope would have allowed, if the secret article, on which the negotiation was founded, had not been refused by that pontiff.

After the parliament held at Windsor in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, by which the realm was divided into four circuits, and at which were present the young king, who came over from France for that purpose, and Geoffrey, duke of Bretagne, Henry ordered the latter to go into that dutchy, and reduce to obedience a revolted baron; which, as his first essay in war, he performed with alacrity, and obtained by his valour the esteem of the Bretons.

The king of France was now busied in making preparations for an act of importance. The resolution he had taken, in concert with Henry, to go to the Holy War, made him think it advisable to provide for the government of the realm in his absence, and to secure the succession in case of his death, by crowning his son Philip, who, being now in the fifteenth year of his age, and of an understanding matured beyond the usual degree, was capable of performing the functions of royalty with the help of a council. He therefore summoned all his spiritual and temporal nobles to attend him at Rheims, on the fifteen of August: but, a little before that day came, the young prince, who was hunting in the forest of Compeigne, by some accident separated himself in the chase from all his attendants, and wandered on horseback the whole night about the woods. This unusual fatigue, and a kind of horror excited by the melancholy solitude and gloom of the forest, threw him into an illness, so dangerous, that his father, despairing of

relief

Robertus de
Monte.
Pere Daniel,
Hist. de
France.
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.
Gervase.

relief from any human assistance, had recourse to that of Becket, whose miracles he believed with unsuspecting faith; and, to obtain for his son the powerful intercession of this reputed saint, did not rely on the favours he had formerly done him, when an exile in France, but vowed to go in pilgrimage to his tomb at Canterbury, and make offerings there. Some of his council objected to this design, on account of the danger of his putting himself in the power of a king whom he had so much offended; but had there been greater cause to apprehend such a danger than there really was, his mind was inflexible in all resolutions where his bigotry was concerned. Having asked and obtained a safe conduct, he took with him the earl of Flanders, and several other great nobles, and arrived at Dover the twenty-second of August. King Henry rode all night, from another part of the coast, to be present at his landing, received him on the shore with all possible honours, and conducted him, the next day, to the tomb of the primate, on which, after they had joined in devotions before it, a cup, or chalice, of gold was offered by Louis. He likewise gave to the monks of Christchurch in Canterbury a perpetual yearly present of a hundred tons of French wine, besides exemption from all duties on whatever should be purchased in this realm for their use; both which grants he declared and confirmed by a charter. On the third day he departed, and was attended by Henry as far as to Dover. In the mean time his son mended; and he received the good news, as soon as he came into France, of all danger to the life of that prince being past. This established the fame of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and greatly increased the superstitious resort of pilgrims to his tomb. But Louis, soon afterwards, going to St. Denis, with intent there to perform new acts of devotion, had a stroke of a palsy, which took from him

him the use of his right side, so that he could not be present at his son's coronation. The ceremony was performed at Rheims on the feast of all Saints in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine. The young king Henry was present; and Philip being oppressed under the weight of his crown, from the tenderness of his age, and a weakness occasioned by his late fit of sickness, Henry helped to sustain it, "intending thereby (says Diceto) to shew the French, that he would in like manner, if his aid should be necessary, support their realm." He might possibly have worn the crown he sustained, if Philip had died (as he was very near doing) about ten weeks before. But, that hope having failed, it would have been better for this prince, in consideration of his own royal dignity, to have absented himself from this coronation, that any act of respect, or ministerial office, performed by him there as seneschal of France, and on account of the ties which he held in that kingdom, or to which he was heir apparent, might not seem to affect the sovereignty of England.

In the month of July, this year, died Richard de Lucy, who had retired, some months before his decease, into an abbey of canons regular, founded by himself, and had taken their habit, notwithstanding the most pressing entreaties of Henry, who was unwilling to lose the service of a minister so faithful and so useful. The notions of those times made even the wisest men believe, that to die in a convent was almost a necessary means of salvation! On his retreat, the high office of grand justiciary of England was jointly exercised by the bishops of Winchester, Ely, and Norwich, assisted by some lay-assessors in that court. Among these, the most eminent was Ranulf de Glanville, who, the following year, was made grand justiciary, and in whom, as in Lucy, the abilities of a lawyer and a soldier were united.

Gervase,
Chron. ad
ann. 1179.

Benedict.
Abb. t. i.
p. 316.

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Epist. 95.
ad Henr.
Regem.

It may be proper to observe, that in the letter before cited from Peter of Blois to the king, that writer gave a very fair and honourable testimony to the justice of the king's court, whilst he complained of abuses and corruption in others, particularly in those of the sheriffs and the barons. "If causes (says he) are tried in the presence of your highness, or your chief justiciary, there neither gifts nor partiality are admitted; there all things proceed according to the rules of judgement and justice; nor does ever the sentence or decree transgress the limits of equity."

But he remarks to the king, "That the great men of his kingdom, though full of hatred and enmity against each other, yet united to prevent the complaints of the people against the exactions of sheriffs, or other officers in any inferior jurisdictions, whom any of them had recommended or patronized, from coming to his ears; so that, in such cases, the worst enemy of the party accused would become his defender." And he compares this combination for mutual support "to the conjunction of scales on the back of the crocodile or Behemoth of the scriptures, which fold over each other, and form by their closeness an impenetrable defence."

Diceto, col.
607, ad ann.
1179.
Powell's
Welsh Chronicle, ad
eund. ann.

The justice of Henry was displayed this year in South-Wales, very much to his honour. Cadwallon, who was uncle to David ap Owen, and had a lordship or small principality in that country near the English borders, having come to the king's court, either to ask protection, (as the Welsh Chronicle says) or to answer for offences (as Diceto affirms) and returning home under the guard of Henry's safe-conduct, was murdered on his way by some English of the marches, in revenge of the depredations he had made on their lands, and the blood he had shed by frequent hostilities, which Henry had pardoned, as included in the amnesty, granted

granted to him and the other lords of South-Wales, at the intercession of prince Rhees, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-one. However just their resentments against him may have been, the killing him in this manner, and violating a safe-conduct given by the king, as he returned from his court, was an offence which the justice and majesty of the crown were equally bound to punish. Accordingly Henry put to death, by the hands of the hangman, all concerned in this murder, except a few who escaped by flying into the woods, where they led a wretched life, as fugitives and outlaws. Why he did not also punish William de Breuse, lord of Brecknock, who, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five or (as some say) seventy-six, had slain many Welshmen in Aber-gavenny castle, of which he was governor, we are not well-informed. It is said by Diceto, that having invited them thither, in order to notify to them an act of the parliament of England, by which they were forbidden to go from home armed with bows, or sharp pointed knives, he there condemned them to death for refusing to obey, and executed the sentence by a number of soldiers, brought into his fort for that purpose. But he used this pretence to avenge the blood of his uncle, Henry de Hereford, whom, not long before, they had murdered. The Welsh Chronicle adds, that he took out of her house the wife of a nobleman, who, together with one of their sons, had been put to death in the castle, killed another of their sons before her face, and levelled the house to the ground. There must, I presume, have been some extraordinary cause, not mentioned by these writers, which could prevail upon Henry to overlook or forgive such deeds as these, and could hinder the Welsh nation from taking revenge, by force of arms, to which they had always recourse when the justice of the crown was denied or delayed,

Diceto, ut
supra.

Imag. Hist.
ad ann.
1175.

layed, and, often, without waiting for any other redress.

Benedict.
Abb. ad an.
1150.

The palsy of Louis, which disabled him from attending to any publick affairs, and the coronation of his son, produced such alterations in the state of the French court, as appeared very favourable to Henry's importance and credit in the kingdom. For there presently arose a competition for power between the mother and uncle of Philip on one side, and the earl of Flanders on the other: the former desiring to retain the administration, with which they had been intrusted for some time past, and the latter having artfully gained an ascendant over the mind of that king, by infusing into it a jealousy of their purpose, to keep him still, as a child, under their controul and tuition, notwithstanding his having assumed the government. The contest grew to such a height, and the alienation of Philip's esteem and affection from these his nearest relations appeared so alarming, that it drove them, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, to implore Henry's aid against the earl. They had acted the part of friendly intercessors in his late disputes with Louis; and his safety required, that the direction of all the power of France should not be in the hands of so formidable a neighbour to England and Normandy, as the lord of the earldoms of Flanders and Boulogne. He therefore inclined to their party, and had a meeting at Rouen with the queen of France and her brothers, in which he took pledges of them, that they should act by his advice, and covenanted to aid them, not only with the forces of his Norman dominions, but also with troops out of England. Philip, hearing of this league, commanded likewise that an army should be instantly raised in his territories for his service; but, while the levies were making, he suddenly went to Bapaume, and there

there married the daughter of the earl of Hainault, who was niece to the earl of Flanders. This new bond of alliance, thus indissolubly formed between him and that prince, quite confounded the designs of the opposite faction, and made Henry think it better to mediate for his friends, than attempt to support their cause by arms. Philip's good understanding was easily brought to see, that the dissention between his mother and him could not be ended too soon. He therefore yielded, in a conference with Henry on that subject at the castle of Gisors, to pay her a pension of seven pounds a day, Paris money, during the life of his father, and after that monarch's death to put her in possession of all the lands of her dower, reserving to himself the fortresses built thereon, that they might not be rendered, in the hands of her party, a means of disturbing the future peace of his realm. Her brothers and other lords confederated with her, who had left his court in disgust, or had been driven from it, were to be restored to his favour; and the earl of Flanders was to hold the same power and pre-eminence which he (Philip) had before conferred on that prince. Thus, by Henry's good offices, the discord which was arming the French royal family against itself, and had almost produced a very unnatural war, was prudently stopt and extinguished. In a letter written by that King to Ranulph de Glanville, on the subject of this peace, he says, "*it was made entirely according to his will, and much to his honour, and to the future security of himself and his sons.*" But it was not very pleasing to the earl of Flanders, who feared that the queen-mother's return to court, and the credit which Henry had acquired with her son in negotiating this treaty, would soon lessen his power. Nevertheless he dissembled, and renewing his subsidiary convention with Henry, did homage to that king,

as he often had done before. The foederal compact made in the year eleven hundred and seventy between Louis and Henry, for the mutual protection of their territories in France, and for referring all matters in dispute to the judgment of arbitrators there named, was also renewed and confirmed. The only difference was, that Philip did not in this, as Louis had done in that, declare a positive promise, solemnly ratified by an oath, to take the cross. But it was understood that whenever his affairs would permit he intended to do it, and that Henry had the same purpose.

Benedict.
Abb. ad ann.
1180.

On the eighteenth of September, died at Paris King Louis, the seventh of that name, in the seventieth year of his age. The good qualities of that prince had been miserably depraved by a narrow understanding. This turned his piety into bigotry, his courage into knight-errantry, his honesty into weakness, and sometimes even betrayed him, in his political conduct, into very immoral acts, whilst in trifles his conscience was scrupulous to excess. History therefore cannot rank him in the catalogue of great kings, or even of virtuous men : but it is surprising that Rome did not place him in the calendar among her saints ; for he deserved it by all the qualifications which in those times could entitle a prince to that honour ; by exposing his life in a crusade, by implicit submission to the papal authority, by taking part in a schism with that candidate for the papacy who had the good fortune to overcome his opponents, and by sacrificing to an ignorant zeal for the church important rights of his crown.

The exaltation of Philip to the royal dignity, before his father's death, had secured the succession against any possibility of a dispute ; and, the troubles in his court being also composed by Henry's mediation, all was quiet in France : but
in

in Germany Henry's son-in-law, the duke of Saxony and Bavaria, had been lately put under the ban of the empire. The chief cause of this thunderbolt's falling on that prince, was his having withdrawn his person and troops from the imperial army in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, when the emperor was sustaining a dangerous war against the people of Milan and other rebellious Lombards. He pleaded the fear of an excommunication from Alexander the Third: but he himself, in concurrence with the whole Germanick body, had always denied the authority of that pontiff; and this was an ill time to begin to stand in awe of his spiritual censures. Another and better excuse was the intelligence received by him, that the Eastern Venedi, inhabitants of Pomerania, had rebelled and made inroads into the lower Saxony: yet this also was too slight to justify his deserting the emperor's service; his lieutenants there being able to repel these incursions, which in fact were repelled, without any aid from him, before he returned to those parts. The emperor therefore, who imputed the ignominious peace, which was afterwards forced upon him, to his having been so abandoned, gladly received some complaints, which upon his return out of Italy into Germany, the enemies of the duke, encouraged to it by him, brought with great animosity against that prince, and appointed them to be heard in a diet at Worms on the thirteenth of January in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine. But the duke, either conscious that he could not clear himself, or fearing the power of his adversaries in the diet, and the emperor's partiality, did not venture to appear, as he was summoned to do, before this assembly. In his absence he was charged with many grievous acts of violence and oppression, by some of his vassals and neighbours. His chief accusers were bishops, whose pretended

Sigonius de
regno Italia,
ad ann. 1175.

Rimius-Me-
moires of the
house of
Brunswick.

Annales de
Paderborn,
ad ann.
1179.

Histoire
d'Allemag-
ne, par le
Pere Barre.

immunities he had little respected, and whose vengeance he now felt; all the states of the empire being influenced by them against his cause. Yet (not to condemn him unheard) the emperor called another diet at Magdeburg, and summoned him to attend it. He again disobeyed; and the Marquis of Lusatia, accusing him to the diet of having instigated the Venedi to ravage that country, offered himself to make good the charge by duel. Being informed of this challenge, he said that the marquis was too inferior to him in dignity, and therefore he would not accept it; but he desired a personal conference with the emperor, who granted his request. In this interview he so far exculpated himself, and so mitigated Frederick's displeasure against him, that he drew from that prince a gracious offer of pardon, if he would only pay a fine of five thousand marks of silver to the imperial chamber. But his pride, which had raised so many enemies up against him, disdained to submit to such an acknowledgment of his having been to blame. He returned into Saxony, and being cited to appear at the diet of Goslar, and answer to the several accusations brought against him, refused to obey, alledging that his person would not there be in safety, and that, his judges being all confederated against him, he could not hope for justice. The diet hereupon condemned him as contumacious, and permitted his accusers to do themselves right by force of arms. The archbishop of Cologne, between whom and the duke much enmity had subsisted for some time past, was the first who undertook to execute this decree, with the assistance of Godfrey, duke of Brabant, of Philip, count of Guelders, of Theodorick, count of Cleves, of William, count of Juliers, and many other great lords. These ravaged all Westphalia, and constrained the few troops which Henry the Lion had there to retire

*Annales
Paderborn,
ad ann.
1179.
Histoire
d'Allemagne.*

to Brunswick. That prince, apprehending he might suddenly be attacked by the landgrave of Hesse, the landgrave of Thuringia, and other lords of that country, who, he knew, were hostile to him, chose to lead the army thither, and secure himself first from all danger on that side. This he did by two battles, the winning of which made him master of Thuringia and Hesse, where he stayed, with a part of his victorious forces, to keep possession of them, and sent the rest, under Bernard de Lipstad, his general, to recover Westphalia, which the archbishop of Cologne had left to the guard of the count of Tulenburg, a chief of great reputation. Him Bernard defeated and delivered in chains to the duke; after which he took Embden and other towns in those parts. But, the bishop of Halberstadt making an irruption into East-Saxony, the duke, who, before, to obtain absolution from an excommunication under which he had been laid by that prelate, had unwillingly suffered him to hold his bishoprick, ordered Bernard to oppose his progress there. This general drove him thence, and soon afterwards took his episcopal city, which the Saxon troops set on fire. The bishop, with great difficulty, escaped from the flames, but was made a prisoner, and generously freed by the duke, in pity to his age.

Hist. d'Allemagne.

The emperor hitherto had never acted in person against this prince, nor sent any troops to join his foes: which was probably owing to the friendly intercessions of three great powers that mediated for him, the king of England, the king of France, and the pope. But they vainly endeavoured, by ambassadors and by legates, to obtain a reversal, or at least a mitigation, of the decree of the empire, past against him at Goslar. At last, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, a fuller diet than ever had before been assembled on this momentous affair, having met at Gelnhausen, a town in Weteravia,

Hi t. d'Alle-
magne, ad
ann. 1480.

Weteravia, and the duke not appearing, the emperor, *to repair the injuries he had done to the states of the empire, and* (as the decree itself sets forth) *to punish his felony and contempt of the imperial authority*, did, with the unanimous consent of the diet, deprive him of his dutchies of Saxony, Bavaria, Angaria, and Westphalia, and of all other fiefs which he held of the empire. His having deserted the imperial service in Italy, though it is said to have been the original cause of this prosecution, was no part of his charge; the emperor chusing rather to proceed against him as a judge, than as an accuser. But that prince, not unwillingly, now took on himself, at the request of the diet, and as head of the empire, the execution of the ban; and began it by granting the investiture of the dutchy of Angaria, or Angria, (as it is called by some writers) with a part of Westphalia, to the archbishop of Cologne and his successors in that see, the dutchy of Saxony, with the other part of Westphalia to Bernard, prince of Anhalt, and the dutchy of Bavaria to Otho count of Wittelsbach; after which the smaller fiefs were likewise bestowed on many different lords. To put all these in possession of the territories assigned to them, the emperor marched himself at the head of his own troops and those of the empire, into Saxony, which he quickly subdued and delivered to Bernard of Anhalt. From thence he went into Bavaria, which submitted to him and to the count of Wittelsbach, without any resistance; while the archbishop of Cologne, and, under his command, the archbishop of Treves, the bishops of Hildesheim, Osnabrug, Munster, Minden, and Paderborn, with many temporal lords in that part of Germany, laid siege to Brunswick. This city, then one of the strongest in the empire, was taken in two months. Duke Henry had been forced, while Frederick was in Saxony, to fly from thence
into

into Holstein, of which province he was master : but, when the emperor went into Bavaria, he returned with some troops into the lower Saxony, and maintained himself there, till Frederick joining his army to that of the archbishop of Cologne, and assisted by the ships of Waldemar king of Denmark, reduced Lubec, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-one; a conquest soon followed by that of the whole dutchy, and also of Holstein. Waldemar had been, for some time, the ally and confederate of Henry the Lion, but was gained from him now by the emperor's offering to marry his two sons to the two daughters of that king. Holstein was given to count Adolphus de Schawenburg, who had held it of Henry, but from whom, upon a quarrel between him and his lord, it had been taken in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine. The unfortunate duke, thus stripped of almost all his territories, retired to a small, but well-fortified sea-port in the diocese of Bremen, intending, if he found that he could not defend it, to embark there for England, in a ship prepared for that purpose. But, instead of besieging this place, the emperor brought his army from Holstein by the Elb, and encamped near Luneburgh, which city he had ordered to be closely shut up, but not attacked : his intention being to preserve it for the dutchess of Saxony, the king of England's daughter. Her husband was persuaded, in the desperate situation to which his affairs were now reduced, that his best resource would be to implore the compassion and mercy of the emperor, whose mother was his aunt. He therefore asked a safe-conduct, which the emperor having granted, he went to that prince, and throwing himself at his feet, begged that some of the territories which he had been deprived of, might be restored to him.

Histoire
d'Alle-
magne, ad
ann. 1181.

The

Hist. d'Alle-
magne, ed
ann. 1181.
Annales de
Paderborn.

The emperor seemed to be touched at seeing this great potentate, who in the empire itself had been lately a rival to the imperial power, so miserably humbled: but, however his heart might be disposed, his policy could not wish that he should again be much raised above his present state. Nor was it easy, at this time, to recover for him any forfeited countries; as those who had gained them would be very unwilling to give up the possession of them, and the emperor had no right to reverse what was done by the unanimous judgment and authority of the empire, without its concurrence. He had taken no part of all the spoils of the duke, and therefore could make no restitution to him by the mere act of his own grace. He could only recommend his petition to the favour of a new diet; which he offered to do, and called one to assemble at Quidlemburg on that business. The duke appeared there, and humbly presented his request: but, a warm dispute arising between him and his successor in the duchy of Saxony, the emperor thought it prudent to dissolve the assembly, and referred the affair to the consideration of another held at Erfort. In this the duke laboured to justify or excuse his former conduct; but, either he failed in that attempt, or the interest of all those who had shared in his spoils was so prevalent in the diet, that it rose without granting him an acre of land. He was even obliged, in the presence of the states of the empire, to take an oath, that, within a term assigned, he would go out of Germany, and would not return before the end of seven years; the emperor flattering him with hopes that restitution might be made of some of his fiefs, and possibly of them all, when, by so long an enjoyment of the profits of them, compensation had been given to the present possessors for the injuries he had done them. It is probable that he put no very great confidence in

in any such expectations; but he might believe that time would produce more favourable conjunctures, and that, in the mean while, his absence would mitigate the resentment of the empire. Many reasons had prevented his father-in-law, the king of England, though very affectionate to him, from supporting his cause by force of arms. One, assigned by an English writer, contemporary with him, is the distance of the places where the war was made; but the impropriety of that king's interfering in a matter which could only be decided by the laws of the empire, against an unanimous decree of the diet, grounded on a repeated contempt of their summons, appears to have been a much stronger; and the weightiest of all was his solemn engagement to go to the Holy War as soon as the affairs of his own realm would permit; a vow inconsistent with his implicating himself in any other warfare, to which he was not constrained. But, the emperor holding a diet at Mentz on the feast of Pentecost, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, Henry sent another embassy of the greatest lords of his court, to solicit that assembly in behalf of his son-in-law, and prevailed on the king of France and the earl of Flanders to aid his intercessions by theirs. Yet nothing more was obtained than the shortening of the exile imposed on the duke from seven to three years, and a liberty to the dutchess of residing on the lands assigned for her dower, if she chose to stay in Germany, or of appointing whom she would to have the custody of them, for her use and benefit, if she went with her husband. This dower contained the strong and opulent cities of Brunswick and Luneburgh, with the territories thereunto belonging, which accordingly were secured and guaranteed to that princess by the emperor and the diet, on her chusing to accompany her husband in his exile. Before the end of the summer,

Benedict.
Abb.
t. i. f. 336.

Benedict.
Abb.
ad ann.
1182.
Histoire
d'Alle-
magne.

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1182.

summer, they came together into Normandy, bringing with them a daughter and two sons, of whom the eldest, named Henry, acquired afterwards, by a marriage, the County Palatine of the Rhine, and the youngest, named Otho, was crowned king of Germany, in the year eleven hundred and ninety-eight, and emperor of the West in twelve hundred and nine. The king of England, at this time was suppressing a rebellion in the earldom of Poitou; but hearing of their arrival, he hastened back to Rouen, and by the kindness he shewed to the unfortunate duke, gave him all the consolation his distress would admit of, a distress, which the consciousness of his having, by a proud and violent conduct, done much to deserve it, embittered to his mind. After a few days, a great number of the German nobility, late vassals to this prince, who, with the emperor's leave, had attended him in his journey, to shew their respect and affection for his person, were dismissed by him and sent home. Before their departure Henry made them rich presents. He also gave to the duke a princely maintenance, and supported his whole family, with vast expence to himself. But the duke quickly left him, and went on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, his wife and children continuing to reside in Normandy.

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1186.
Gervase,
col. 1457.

During the course of these events, from the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine to the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, nothing had happened in England to give Henry much uneasiness, except that he was forced to bring again to the mint all the money of that kingdom, which, by the frauds of his coyners, had been much debased. The disorder occasioned by the late intestine troubles in all branches of government had produced this great mischief, and prolonged it to the year eleven hundred and eighty, when effectual care was taken by the king to redress it. He fined the offenders

offenders severely, bringing up those from the country mints in open sledges or carts, two and two chained together. Yet I do not find that he punished any of them with death, the usual sentence on clippers and coyners in this reign. It appears by a record, that, the year before this, the sheriff of London accounted to the king's Exchequer, for the goods of a woman executed for clipping silver pennies.

In the year eleven hundred and eighty-one, Lawrence O Tool, archbishop of Dublin, came to Normandy, and brought with him from Ireland a son of Roderick O Connor, as a hostage to Henry for the better observance of the treaty concluded in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, with regard to the tribute which Roderick was to pay for his own realm of Conaught, and to levy for Henry from the other inferior Irish princes. His having failed in this point had drawn upon him the arms of Fitzaldelm and Cogan in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, and the pledge he now gave might be thought more particularly binding on him, who had put to death the son of Dermot king of Leinster, on account of his father's breach of faith. The archbishop soon afterwards took leave of Henry, and was going back to Dublin, but died on the way, before he could embark.

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1181.

Giraldus Cambrensis says, that Henry had conceived a jealousy of this prelate, because he had obtained, at the Lateran council, some privileges from the pope, in favour of his nation, which the king thought injurious to his own royal dignity. This, perhaps, was one reason why the Irish reported that miracles were done by him, and honoured him as a saint, presently after his death. But as soon as Henry heard that he was dead, he took the archbishoprick into his own custody, agreeably to the rights of his English prerogative,
which

Hibernia
Expugn.
Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1181.

which he exercised over Ireland, as a realm annexed to that crown. He also sent thither the constable of Chester and Richard de Peck, to take from Hugh de Lacy the government of that isle, with the custody of Dublin, for having, without his permission, married a daughter of Roderick, king of Conaught. It is probable that this lord, by means of that alliance, prevailed on Roderick to deliver the hostage above-mentioned into Henry's hands, and hoped by this act to justify the unauthorised match he had made; but, other circumstances concurring to excite a suspicion of his seeking to obtain a greater power in Ireland than a subject ought to have, the umbrage it gave to the king could not be so removed. He was recalled into England, and required to answer there for his conduct, on Henry's return thither.

That prince, on the twenty-seventh of April this year, had taken leave of Philip, king of France, after a conference held between them on the borders of Normandy, during which, exhortations from Pope Alexander the Third to all Christian princes, nobles, and commons, that they should form a crusade for the defence of the Holy Land, having been shewn to both kings, Philip promised the knights of the temple and hospital, who brought this bull, to join with Henry in speedily succouring that country, the present weakness whereof required the assistance which his Holiness thus implored, and for which he offered a full remission of sins, with other indulgences usually granted to crusaders. But accidents intervened which obstructed this purpose.

While Henry was hastening to Cherburg, from which port he intended to set sail for England, he was accosted by the earl of Bar, who was going into Spain, at the head of an army of more than twenty thousand Brabanters, to make war on the Saracens and *Publicans* there, at the special command

mand of the pope. His Holiness had laid upon him this charge as a penance for his sins, and associated to him these men, who, having been all excommunicated by the Lateran council, as freebooters and cut-throats, were to atone for their crimes by turning their swords against the Mahometans and other enemies of the church. It appears from the *Publicans* being joined with the Saracens, as the objects of this warfare, that some of the hereticks in the South of France had gone from thence into Spain, and that the extirpating of them was a point which the pope had so passionately at heart, as to try to effect it by this extraordinary method. The earl, who wanted money, begged the king to assist him. Henry said, he would liberally supply his wants, if he and his Brabanters would go to Jerusalem, instead of Spain: on which proposition he asked time to take their opinions; but what answer they made we are not told: nor is it clear whether Henry desired to send them to the Holy Land in his stead, as a succour which he thought would answer the purpose of his going himself, or to join them with the forces he intended to lead into those parts. Certainly a better method of defending Jerusalem could not have been found: for much might be done by the valour of these hardy and veteran soldiers against the infidels; and if all of them had perished in performing this service, it would have been no loss to Christendom, but, on the contrary, would have freed it from a most pernicious pest.

Henry was come to the sea-side, and just ready to embark for his voyage to England, when he was stoped by receiving an express from King Philip, who pressed him to return, and compose another quarrel, in which that monarch now found himself engaged, not, as before, with his mother, on account of the power he gave to the earl of Flanders,

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1186.

ders, but with that prince himself. The cause of it was a claim, set up by the earl, to the lordship of a castle in the province of Beauvoisis, belonging to a nobleman high in the esteem and favour of his sovereign, the young count of Clermont. The right, perhaps, might be doubtful; but the violence of the claimant, who threatened to decide the controversy by arms, was more offensive to Philip than the injury he supposed to be done to his favourite; and it may be presumed that his mother, who had now access to him, gladly seized this occasion to inflame his resentment against the earl. Yet the benefit he had drawn from Henry's mediation upon a former dispute, and the deference which he paid to the wisdom of that king, made him desire his presence and advice on this business, in which Henry himself was concerned; as the count of Clermont had lately acknowledged himself his vassal. We are not enough informed of the intrigues of those times, to know the particulars which passed at a conference concerning this matter, wherein the two kings and the earl of Flanders were present: but the war, which was breaking out between Philip and the earl, was by Henry's endeavours stopt; and that monarch, who thought that his friendly intercessions would no longer be needful, went from France into England. His first care in that realm was to obtain the consent of his parliament to a law for the arming of his people, which being one of the most memorable acts of his reign, I shall give the whole statute, or *assize*, as it is called in the books of that age. The tenor thereof is as follows.

See Appendix to this book, from Benedict. Abb. f. 365, 366. and from Hoveden.

1. Whosoever is possessor of one knight's fee shall have a coat of mail, and a helmet, and a shield, and a lance; and every knight shall have so many coats of mail, helmets, shields, and lances, as he hath knights-fees in his estate.

2. Every

2. Every free lay-man, who hath, in chattels or rent, to the value of sixteen marks, shall have a coat of mail, a helmet, a shield, and a lance.
3. Every free lay-man, who hath, in chattels or rent, ten marks, shall have an habergeon and scull-cap of iron, and a lance.
4. All burgeses, and *the whole community of free-men*, shall have a jacket, lined (or quilted) with wool or tow, a scull-cap of iron, and a lance.
5. And every one of these before-mentioned shall swear, that, before the feast of St. Hilary, he will provide these arms, and be faithful to King Henry, the son of the Empress Matilda, and will keep these arms for his service, according to his command, and with fidelity to the King and kingdom. And no man, when he hath these arms, shall sell, pawn, lend, or in any manner part with them out of his own custody. Nor shall the lord of a vassal, either by forfeiture, gift, or pledge, or by any other means, take them from him.
6. On the death of any man possessor of these arms, they shall remain to his heir: but, if the heir be not of such an age as that he can use arms when required, he who shall have the custody of his person shall have also that of his arms, and shall find a man who can use them in the King's service, until the heir shall be of such an age as that he can bear arms, and then they shall be delivered to him.
7. If any burges hath more arms than he ought to have according to this assize, he shall sell or give them away, or part with them to some man so qualified as that he may keep them for the King's service. And no burges

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

burgess shall keep more than he ought to have according to this assize.

8. Moreover, no Jew shall keep in his possession a coat of mail or habergeon, but shall sell or give it away, or otherwise part with it, so as that it may be used for the King's service.
9. Also, no man shall carry any arms out of England, unless by the King's order; nor shall any man sell any arms to another who would carry them out, nor shall any merchant or other person carry any out of England.

By other parts of this act directions are given for appointing juries in the hundreds and boroughs of every county, to discover who had chattels or rents to the value expressed therein; on which inquest no person, who had not chattels to the value of sixteen marks, or ten at least, was to serve. The king's justices, in their circuits, were required to inroll the names of the jurors, and of those who should be found to have chattels or rents to the value above-mentioned; after which they were to cause this statute (or assize) to be publickly read; and all the persons concerned were to be sworn to observe it in all points. The act further directs, that if it should happen that any one of those who are to have the said arms, should not be in his county when the justices are there, they shall appoint him to appear before them in another county; and if he doth not come to them in any of the counties through which they go, they shall command him, as he loves himself and all he hath, to be at Westminster within eight days after Michaelmas, and there to take the oath. They are also ordered, to cause it to be publickly notified, in their several circuits, that the king will punish those who shall fail to have

have these arms, not in their lands or their goods, but corporally, in their limbs.

A law of the same nature had been made by the king, about the beginning of this year, in his territories abroad, and his example was followed, within a short time, by the king of France and the earl of Flanders, in all their dominions. It does him great honour, that he was the first author of such a regulation: for no prince who desired to govern tyrannically would thus have armed his whole people; nor could any country in which such a law was maintained be either enslaved by the crown, or much oppressed by the nobles. It seems, indeed, that the ancient constitution of England had always intended what this statute enacted; as all freeholders were required, by the common law of the land, to assist in opposing and driving out invaders: but the want of care to provide the burgessees and free socmen, who did not hold any fiefs by military tenures, with proper arms, rendered that obligation of little or no effect. Whereas, from this time, the whole community of freemen (*tota communia liberorum hominum*) were bound to have in their own custody, and transmit to their heirs, the usual arms of a foot-soldier; and all who were worth sixteen marks, in chattels or rents, were to provide heavy armour; nay, even, those who had but ten were to furnish themselves with scull-caps and habergeons of iron, and leave them to their heirs, together with lances, by which I do not understand the heavy lances used by horsemen, but long pikes or spears. No mention of bows and arrows is made in this statute, not, I presume, because those weapons were not used by foot-soldiers, or that the use of them was now intended to be laid aside or discouraged; but because it was not necessary to enforce by a law, the general custom of all the lower orders of freemen to furnish

See Benedict,
Abb. t. i.
f. 353. ad
ann. 1181.

themselves with them: for, by several passages in the books of those times, it evidently appears, that the greater part of the English infantry were now expert archers; and that, in cities, towns, and villages, the young men were accustomed to attend with each other in shooting with the long bow, as a daily exercise and sport. It is probable that in France the practice was not so common: for in the assize of arms, enacted by Henry for his transmarine dominions, it is ordered that every freeman shall have either a lance and a sword, *or a bow and arrows*, which alternative might be given to introduce a more general use of the latter than had hitherto prevailed there. Why the sword was omitted among the weapons assigned to the English by this law I cannot say: but, perhaps, it was thought that the knights would have it of course; and for the infantry the spear (improperly there called a lance) might be deemed of more use, as it would better enable them to keep off the assaults of the enemy's horse in a battle. The forbidding any Jew to have in his custody a coat of mail, or an habergeon, shews the jealousy of the state with regard to that people: and this assize is a proof, that the slaves (or villeins) in those days were quite unarmed, except with staves, or with bows.

Gervase of Canterbury says, that, in consequence of the oath imposed by this law, "unskilful rusticks, used to mattocks and spades, *unwillingly* gloried in the arms of soldiers." That *unwillingness* might arise from their being compelled to buy the arms: but this was well repaid to them by the means which it gave them of protecting themselves against violence and oppression; and the realm was much strengthened against a foreign enemy by their being thus armed. The only danger from it was, that they might be too prompt in having recourse to their
arms,

arms, on light occasions, at home. But, notwithstanding this objection, one of Henry's chief motives for this regulation was to raise up a strength in the body of the people, from which he thought he should have less to fear, whilst his government was administered with benignity and justice, and the rights of the commons were shielded by the regal authority, than from that of the barons or tenants by knight's-service, more liable to combine in factious connexions against the crown: and the same policy might induce the king of France and the earl of Flanders to adopt the same measure.

At the end of this assize was added a prohibition (of which notice has been taken in a former part of this work) to buy or sell any ship for the use of foreigners, or draw away any mariner into foreign service; which affords a presumption, that the English built better ships in those days than their neighbours, and that Henry, at this time, in guarding the kingdom, by the most proper methods, against future attacks, did not forget the importance of preserving to it the use of all its shipping and seamen.

The remainder of this year, eleven hundred and eighty-one, produced nothing of much moment in the state-affairs of England; but, in those of the church some events, deserving of notice, happened during that period. On the twentieth of September, died Pope Alexander the Third. His character was exempt from any of those vices which dishonour a pontiff. His private life had been pure, his manners decent and mild: but his spirit had been high, and his principles much the same, concerning the rights and dignity of his see, as those of Gregory the Seventh. A refined policy, undisturbed by any violent passions, and supported by great firmness, had enabled him to maintain a disputed election, through the

course of eighteen years, against a mighty emperor, who employed the whole force of Germany to oppose him. After the contest was over, he shewed himself not vindictive, receiving with kindness Calixtus, when that prelate (the third antipope whom his enemies had set up) submitted to his mercy, letting him eat at his table, and giving to him, instead of the Roman pontificate, a quiet see in the ecclesiastical state. There is no credit due to the accounts in some authors, not contemporary with this pontiff, of his insolent treatment of the emperor Frederick, when that prince was compelled to be reconciled to him, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven; as Cardinal Baronius and others have sufficiently proved. But, though he did not tread on the neck of the emperor, he so subjected the imperial power to the papal, that he left his see more triumphant than it had ever been before, and not only the rightful prerogatives of the empire, but those of all other princes of the Roman communion, much impaired and diminished. A little before his death he had exercised over Scotland the papal jurisdiction in a very outrageous manner, commanding his legates to put that whole kingdom under an interdict, and excommunicate the king himself, for not admitting into the see of St. Andrews a bishop named John Scott.

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1180.

This man, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, had been a competitor for that prelacy with Hugh the king's chaplain, and appealed to the pope against his election, as uncanonical; notwithstanding which appeal, and before any sentence on the merits of the cause could be given at Rome, the king ordered his chaplain to be consecrated. A legate was sent to enquire into this business, on whose report Alexander deposed Hugh, and confirmed the election of John Scott: but the king was resolute against receiving the latter;

latter; and Hugh with equal firmness refusing to deliver to that prelate the ring and pastoral staff, he was therefore excommunicated by the legate, and the sentence against him was confirmed by the pope. This proceeding so much incensed the king, whose high spirit his misfortunes had not depressed, that he banished John Scott, and with him his uncle, the bishop of Aberdeen, and all his other kindred; causing also the dwelling house of the bishop of Aberdeen to be burnt to the ground.

The two prelates, thus exiled, went to Henry in Normandy, together with the pope's legate, and made their complaints to him, as sovereign of Scotland, against his vassal, the Scotch king. Henry sent hereupon a message to that prince, entreating him to remit his anger against them, and, if he would not do this, requiring him to come over to him in Normandy and answer to his justice concerning this matter, or to send other proper persons to answer for him there. In obedience to this summons William went into Normandy, and through Henry's mediation an agreement was made, that the bishop of Aberdeen should be suffered to return in peace to his see, and that John should resign the bishoprick of St. Andrews, on condition of having any other in Scotland which he himself should chuse, and with it the office of chancellor of that realm; if to this exchange of sees the pope's consent could be gained. But, instead of consenting, his Holiness ordered the bishop of Durham, by a special commission, and the archbishop of York, as ordinary legate from the see of Rome in Scotland, to put that kingdom under an interdict, if John was not received as bishop of St. Andrews without further delay. This injunction was published in the year eleven hundred and eighty-one; and many of the Scotch clergy, being ordered by the legates, on pain of

Benedict.
Abb ad
ann. 1181.

excommunication, to pay their canonical obedience to John, went accordingly to him; which the king so repented, that he confiscated all their lands and goods, and drove into banishment them and their whole kindred. Hereupon, in obedience to a mandate from Rome, the archbishop of York excommunicated that prince, and the bishop of Durham laid a general interdict upon all his dominions. These exertions of the ecclesiastical power were more formidable to him, from there being at this time a pretender to his crown, named Mac-William, who, deriving his descent from the ancient kings of Scotland, had landed in Murray, and, with the aid of his friends, got possession of that province, from whence he infected the other parts of the kingdom. But in this crisis, happily for the king and the nation, Pope Alexander died, and, about a month after him, the archbishop of York; which events enabled William to treat more successfully with the see of Rome than before. In the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, the bishop of Glasgow and the abbot of Melrofs, having been sent by that king to Alexander's successor, who had taken the name of Lucius the Third, obtained from this pontiff absolution for him, and a release of the interdict Alexander had laid on all his dominions: after which, the dispute between the competitors for the see of St. Andrews being referred to the bishop of Dol in Bretagne and the abbot of Rivaux, whom Lucius commissioned to determine this business, the king agreed with them, that the bishoprick of Dunkeld should be given to John Scott, with the office of chancellor of the kingdom of Scotland, and revenues equivalent to what he had possessed as bishop of St. Andrews, augmented by forty marks additional income, on condition of his burning the instruments he had gained from Pope Alexander the Third to confirm

Benedict.
Abb. ad
anno. 1181.

Benedict.
Abb. ad
Ann. 1182.

Hoveden, ad
ann. 1182.
Ep. Rolland,
Dolers Elec-
ti, et Selvani
Riev. Abbat.
ad Papam.

firm him in that see. It was likewise granted, that all the friends of this prelate, who had been banished from Scotland on his account, should be recalled to their country and recover their possessions. The king further consented, if John would insist upon it, that Hugh should be translated from St. Andrews to Glasgow, but expressed much reluctance at being forced to remove him from the former of those sees, and allowed him to appeal to Lucius against it; in consequence of which the two parties were heard by the whole sacred college, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, and judgment was given, that the see of St. Andrews should be taken from both; whereupon they made an absolute resignation thereof into the hands of the pontiff, and then went out of the court. But, after a few days, Lucius restored it to Hugh, and granted to John the bishoprick of Dunkeld with all the other additions which had been proposed, and to which the king had agreed, entreating that prince to receive into favour this prelate and his friends, and grant to them the several benefits above-mentioned, *for the love of the apostles Peter and Paul, and out of reverence for the apostolical see.* But all this was overturned in the following pontificate, as I shall hereafter relate.

Benedict.
Abbo. ad
ann. 1183.

Before I end the account of church affairs in Great Britain from the year eleven hundred and eighty to the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, it will be proper to take notice of an act of prerogative, done by Henry on the death of the archbishop of York, in the year eleven hundred and eighty one. That prelate, who had held his very opulent see during twenty-seven years, left behind him (besides plate and three hundred pieces of gold) eleven thousand Pounds of silver in the money of those days,

Dietz, col.
614.

an

Diceto, ut
supra.

Benedict.
Abb. ad' an.
1182.

an immense sum, to which an hundred and sixty-five thousand of our pounds sterling would be hardly equivalent now! All this he bequeathed to charitable or pious uses, by a verbal will declared a little before his death: but Henry, alledging against him, that he himself had affirmed, when his health and mind were most sound, that no bequest would be valid, which was made by any churchman during his last illness, ordered the whole to be seized to the use of the crown, as if he had died intestate. In truth, he not only had given this opinion, but had obtained from Pope Alexander the Third a power to seize the effects of any clergyman subject to his jurisdiction, who had made a will on his death-bed, and had not distributed what he bequeathed with his own hands. The king therefore had both the archbishop's own authority, and that of the pope for this act: but the bishop of Durham (Hugh de Pusey) who had received and laid out three hundred marks, as one of the executors of the archbishop's will, boldly answered Henry's justices, who, by orders from that prince, demanded them of him, that he had given them to the blind, the dumb, the lame, and other poor people; or had disposed of them in repairing churches or bridges, and would not gather them back: for which Henry took from him his palace at Durham, and used other methods to constrain him to restore what he had laid out; a proceeding which the law and practice of those times might sufficiently warrant, but which does not seem agreeable to the equity and the lenity of Henry's general conduct!

Neubrigensis
l. iii. c. 3.

It is remarkable that among all the legacies left by the archbishop of York there was none to any convent! And William of Newbury has recorded a saying of that prelate very extraordinary in those times, *that his predecessor, archbishop Tur-*
stin,

fin, had never been guilty of a more grievous sin than in building Fountain Abbey. At which the clergy about him appearing to be scandalized, he said, "*They were lay-men, if they did not comprehend the force of his words.*" Indeed the secular priests had great reason to complain, that the zeal of the laity turned almost the whole stream of their charity and munificence towards the monks, whom this writer, who was himself a monk, calls *Christian Philosophers*. He adds, that the archbishop was so wonderfully blind, though otherwise a man of an acute understanding, as to think he served God by endeavouring to stop the encrease of their wealth : for, being urged, on his death bed, by the prior of a convent, to confirm the gifts granted to it by certain pious persons, as his predecessors had done, his answer was, "*I am dying; and, because I fear God, I dare not do what you ask.*" It is no wonder, that, as these opinions were known, John of Salisbury, who thought very highly of the sanctity of a monastical life, and who hated this prelate for his dislike of Becket, should speak with such acrimony of him as he does in some of his letters, and charge him with the most atrocious crimes. Little credit is due to those accusations, not supported by the testimony of any other writer. William of Newbury, though a monk, brings no such charge against him, but says, he was learned, eloquent, and of singular prudence in temporal affairs ; but too attentive to them, and too much bent on enriching, by many blameable methods, himself and his see. This was probably his worst fault, and this he sought to atone for, by alms given too late. He had served the king well in his dispute with Becket : a merit which that prince did not enough remember when he thus annulled his last will.

The concord restored in the royal family of France by Henry's mediation did not long continue.

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1181.

Diceto.

Benedict.
Abh. Diceto,
ad ann. 1181.

nue. For Stephen, one of Philip's uncles, and count of Sancerre, laying claim to a castle which belonged to a knight who asserted that he held it in chief of the king, was forbidden by that monarch to disturb the possession of his vassal therein ; but he forcibly took and kept it ; for which being threatened with the king's indignation, he went to the earl of Flanders, who likewise claimed a right to it, and agreed to hold it of him. Philip, informed of this confederacy, besieged the castle, and drove his uncle out ; whereupon the earl of Flanders demanding restitution in behalf of his vassal, as superior lord of the fief, and Philip, by the advice of the count of Clermont, his favourite, refusing to restore it, the earl led an army into the lands of the count, which were held of the king, and laid them waste. In truth this dispute was rather the outward pretence than real cause of this war ; the earl being offended at the loss of that power, which he had hoped to secure by the marriage of his niece, but which the counsels of Henry, and the influence lately gained by that prince over Philip, prevented him from enjoying. Nor were the king's uncles pleased, though Henry had brought them back to court, that he and the count of Clermont, who seems to have been advised by him, should direct their nephew's conduct in the government of his kingdom more than they or his mother. Joining therefore the earl of Flanders, whom they before had opposed, and drawing to his faction many nobles of theirs, they took this occasion, while Henry was in England, about the end of the year eleven hundred and eighty-one, to try their strength. But the young king of England, whom his father had left behind him in Normandy, as his deputy there, raised an army of Normans, and led them to assist his brother-in-law Philip, probably, not without orders received from his father. He was attended in this expedition by

by Richard and Geoffry, his brothers. The earl, on their approach, fearing to be overpowered, retired out of France: but Stephen, count of Sancerre, the instigator of this war, was forced by them to submit to the mercy of Philip, whom they also enabled to ravage the territories of the other confederates, particularly those of the duke of Burgundy. King Henry the elder, detained by contrary winds on the sea-coast of England, could not pass into France till a little before Easter in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two; but, soon after that festival, having first seen the king of France, he brought the earl of Flanders to an amicable conference with that prince and with him, in which he made up their quarrel. It appears by a letter which he sent on this occasion to Ranulph de Glanville, that the earl publicly acknowledged, he had no other right in the province of Vermandois, which Philip claimed as belonging to the royal domain in France, than as a pledge, to remain in his custody and possession, till the charge he had been at, in improving the country, should be fully repaid. Some writers say that he promised to leave it to Philip after his own decease, *as a portion to his niece the queen of France*; but I do not find this in the letter above-mentioned, nor in another which was written by the king on this subject to the bishop of Winchester. It is said there that Perrone was restored to the king of France, to be held under him by the bishop of Soissons, and under that prelate by another sub-vassal. We learn from the same authority that the city of Amiens was declared to be held of the French crown by the bishop of that diocese, who promised that justice should be done to the earl of Flanders, in his or the king's court, on any right he should claim to have therein. It is also mentioned that the count of Clermont, and another baron there named, should hold their lands of the king of France in chief.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1181.

Girald.
Cambrenf.
de Instructi-
one Principi-
pis. Cotton
MSS. Julius
B. xiii.

Benedict.
Abb. Hove-
den.

V. Diceto,
col. 613.

chief, free from all obligations of service to the earl; that compensation should be made for all damages on both sides; and that, by the advice and endeavours of the King of England, all who had departed from their fealty to Philip should again return to it. It was moreover agreed between Henry and the earl, that those barons of Flanders who were homagers to the former (as many then were) for military fiefs, if they went out of their country in order to perform the services due to him, should not, on that account, lose their lands in that earldom, but, if they failed to perform them, should forfeit the fiefs they held of him. That king likewise takes notice in the letter he wrote to the bishop of Winchester, that the earl in this conference renounced all the grants made to him by young Henry in the former convention at Paris: but, as a like renunciation had been made in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, one can hardly tell for what reason it was now repeated. Perhaps it may have been asked by King Henry the father, with an intention that Philip, before whom it was thus renewed and confirmed, should become a witness to it, for the greater security against any pretensions, which the earl or his successors might afterwards ground upon those rash engagements. Indeed it was necessary, in every matter where the earl was concerned, to proceed with the most extraordinary caution. The levity of his temper was equal to the heat and violence of it; and his mind had no fixed political principles to determine his conduct. He had solemnly promised, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, not to dispose of either of his nieces, the daughters of Matthew the late earl of Boulogne, without Henry's consent; notwithstanding which engagement, he had married them both, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, against that king's inclination. The death of the count of Gueldres, who

who was husband to the eldest, facilitated this peace; because he, expecting, by virtue of his marriage, to inherit the Vermandois, had been unwilling that the cession of that province to Philip should ever take effect, and had therefore opposed any treaty of this nature to the utmost of his power. But the great and efficient cause which induced the earl of Flanders to lay down his arms, and submit to the terms above-mentioned, was the strength of Philip's party, sustained by Henry's troops, and guided by his counsels.

Tranquility being thus restored in France, Henry wished to return to his English dominions, on the borders of which the Welsh had committed hostilities, which threatened him with a troublesome war in those parts. For, a new castle having been Benedict. Abb. ad ann. 1181. erected in Gloucestershire, contiguous to South-Wales, by an Englishman of the marches, the neighbouring Welsh, who were jealous that it was built with a purpose to annoy or curb them, at a time when nothing hostile, or injurious to the English, had been done on their part, attacked those who kept it, and killed Ranulph le Poer, the sheriff of Gloucestershire, who had come to their aid pursuant to an order from the king's justices. Hereupon the grand justiciary, Ranulph de Glanville, as guardian of the realm, drew together an army, marched into that country, and set his men to repair the now-demolished castle. On his approach the Welsh retired to their woods or fastnesses in the mountains; but returning back the next night assaulted his camp, and slew many of his soldiers. The news of this alarmed Henry, who feared that the courage of a barbarous people might be raised by such success to further and greater attempts: but he was stopt by new troubles, which the discontent of his son, the young king Henry, produced. That prince, who, in the war against the earl of Flanders, had distinguished his
valour,

valour, demanded a present grant of the dutchy of Normandy, or some other dominion, in which he and his consort might reside, and where he might bestow on the knights of his household, whose good services to him he greatly wished to reward, lands of his own, at his pleasure : but, his father not caring to gratify a desire which tended to independence, he left the court in disgust, and went, without taking leave, out of Normandy into France, declaring he would go from thence to Jerusalem. A negociation ensued ; and his father offered to him, instead of what he had asked, a daily allowance, for his own expences, of one hundred pounds of Angevin money, and of ten to his consort for hers ; promising also to give, before the end of that year, to a hundred knights of his household, proper rewards, proportioned to their services. This offer was accepted : he returned to his father, and bound himself by a new spontaneous oath, that he never would ask more than he now had obtained from him, and would always be governed by his will and advice : but he had sworn to the same effect before, and had not kept his promise.

Benedict.
Abb. Hove-
den, ad
ann. 1183.

After this accommodation, about the beginning of the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, homage was done to this prince, at his father's desire, by Geoffry his brother, for the dutchy of Bretagne, which being a fief of the dutchy of Normandy, this acknowledgment of dependency was properly paid to him as heir apparent of Normandy ; and his father, by requiring it to be done, assured to him that dominion. But Richard, who was present, being likewise required to do homage for Aquitaine to his elder brother Henry, refused to comply with that demand, though supported by all the authority of his father. Concerning the grounds of this dispute, it will be necessary to enter into some discussion here, as the matter is important,

portant, and not well explained by the writers of those times.

The dutchy of Aquitaine not being annexed to the crown of England in those days, and its dukes holding only, by immediate feudal service, of the kings of France, their liege lords, the sole foundation of demanding this homage from Richard must have been a supposition, that, notwithstanding the grant of that dutchy made to him in the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine by the treaty of Montmirail, a superiority in it still remained to his father, as Eleanor's husband, and to Henry their eldest son, as next heir to that fief in right of his mother. But, from the weighty authority of John of Salisbury's letters, written at the time when the treaty of Montmirail was concluded, it should seem that an absolute cession of the dutchy had been made thereby to Richard; and we find that, by two of the contemporary authors, in relating the transactions of the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, he is styled *duke of Poitou*, the import of which title was the same as duke of Aquitaine in the writings of that age. Yet his father styles himself, in a record of that year, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine; and we have many other proofs which put it out of all question that he considered himself, and was considered by others, as retaining the dominion which his marriage had given him over the last of those dutchies, even after the time when Richard was of full age. It likewise appears, from the evidence of records, that he used the title of earl or count of Anjou, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, though his eldest son had assisted, in right of the earldom, as great seneschal of France, at a publick ceremony of that court, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine. To account for these seemingly inconsistent facts, I suppose that he looked on the treaty of Montmirail as null and void, after his sons had engaged in

V. Johan.
Script. 268.
Epist. 6.
Tho. Cant.
66. l. 2.

V. Benedict.
Abb. p. 226.
t. 1. Hov-
den, ad ann.
1177.

V. Rymer's
Foedera.

See the 2d
vol. of this
Hist.

a rebellion against him, with the French king's assistance, and being master of the terms on which peace was made, reserved to himself, not without some assurance of the acquiescence of Louis, a superiority of dominion over his sons in Aquitaine and in Anjou, though he suffered these princes, who had been invested with them, to be styled earls or dukes of their respective territories, and to govern them under him; as he also permitted his fourth son, John, to be called *Lord of Ireland*, though he kept to himself the sovereignty of that isle. And this explains why he wished that Richard should do homage to his eldest son Henry, for the duchy of Aquitaine, and on what the resistance of Richard was founded. Homage was asked to the end that a superiority in that great fief might be preserved to the heir of the kingdom of England, and add to the strength of the English power in France: It was denied because Richard, though he would not then dispute this superiority with his father, was not equally willing to yield it to his brother, but desired to hold the duchy, after the death of his father, under no other vassalage than what his predecessors had paid to their sovereigns, the kings of France. This and another dispute about a castle in Anjou so exasperated his elder brother against him, that a willing attention was given by that prince to a secret message sent to him from many barons of Aquitaine, who offered to deliver into his hands their fortified towns and castles, and to become his liege subjects, telling him, that he ought, by hereditary right, to be their lord, and that they would no longer hold their fiefs of Richard, who committed rapes on the wives and daughters of free-men, and after he had satisfied his desires with them gave them up to his soldiers.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1183.

Whether this heinous charge was true, or was a calumny grounded on their malice to Richard, who

who ruled them with a strong hand, and had punished most of them for rebelling against his father and him since the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, I find no certain proof: but the young king was glad to avail himself of this hatred against the duke, and, without his father's knowledge, received from them pledges, that they would serve and stand by him, as their liege lord. Geoffry, duke of Bretagne, who had now, with the sanction of a papal dispensation, married the Princess Constantia, inheritrix of that dukedom, combined with his eldest brother in this undertaking, for the expulsion of Richard out of Aquitaine, on what motives of advantage to himself we know not; the history of this civil war being very imperfectly and confusedly given by the writers of that age. But it appears that a mercenary army of Brabanters was hired by these princes, and joined to the militia of the dutchy of Bretagne, with which forces they ravaged the territories of Richard, who, in return, wasted theirs; the parties being so incensed against each other, that every prisoner taken on either side in these inroads was instantly put to death.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1183.

King Henry the elder saw, with amazement and with grief, this sudden storm of discord involving his children, and threatening his second son with utter and speedy destruction, if its course were not stopt. In bidding Richard do homage for the dutchy of Aquitaine to his elder brother Henry, he had been far from desiring that Henry should deprive that prince of the fief; and his attempting to do so was the more inexcusable, if (as some of the contemporary authors affirm) Richard, though he had refused, on the first mention of it, to submit to this mark of vassallage and subjection where he thought it not due, would have afterwards yielded to his father's importunity, but was then, on the proffer which he had made of his

Ibidem.

homage, rejected by his brother. However this may have been, it certainly was repugnant to every wish of the father, that two of his sons should thus destroy a third. He therefore assembled, as speedily as he could, an army of his vassals, with which he marched to aid Richard, and force all the three brothers to put an end to the horrors of so direful and so abominable a war. On his taking this part, the eldest came and submitted himself to his pleasure, confessing the engagements into which he had entered with the barons of Aquitaine, and laying the blame on Richard's usurpation of the castle of Clerevaux in Anjou, which he begged his father to recover, and keep in his own hands. To this request that king not unwillingly yielded, and taking the three princes along with him to Angers, received from them in that city a renewal of the oaths of fealty to himself, and also caused them to swear, that they would maintain, for the future, a perpetual peace among themselves, according to the terms which he should be pleased to prescribe. A day was then fixed for the barons of Aquitaine, included in this agreement, to meet them and their father at Mirebeau; but, these not attending, the latter sent his son Geoffry, to endeavour to persuade them to lay down their arms, and come with him to that castle. Instead of which he again confederated with them, and made inroads, at the head of his rapacious Brabanters, into the lands of his father. Hereupon the young Henry was impowered by that monarch to propose to him and them, that every thing should be put into the same state as it was a year before this disturbance, or that they should agree to stand to the judgment of his father's court in that province, on all the points in dispute. He went to treat with them in the castle of Limoges, a very strong fortress, which was now their head-quarters. From thence he sent a message to let his father know,

Penedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
an. 1183.

know, that nothing but his presence at Limoges was wanting for the restoration of concord. That prince, therefore, went thither, taking with him his son Richard and only a few attendants, as secure from all danger; but, when he came to the city, the centinels on the walls shot arrows against him, one of which pierced his coat of arms. A knight, who attended him, was also struck with a sword, and wounded, in his fight. This constrained him and Richard to retire hastily to the place where his army was posted; and nothing was done by his sons, who remained in the castle, to punish the offenders: but soon afterwards he returned at the head of his troops, and was received by the towns-men, without further opposition, into the city. From thence he advanced to the gates of the castle, in order to confer with his eldest son and Geoffry, who both came out to meet him. Here likewise a discharge of arrows was made by some of the soldiers on the walls, and the horse the king rode on was wounded in the head, which he happened to toss up, just as one of the arrows was coming against his rider's breast. Yet, presently afterwards, young Henry left the castle, to wait on his father. How he excused what had passed we are not informed; but it is said, he declared, that if the barons of Aquitaine did not throw themselves at his father's feet, to sue for peace, he would forsake them, and serve him to the utmost of his power. From hence one should judge that the traitorous attempts on the life of his father were not made by his orders, and so, it seems, that prince thought; for he suffered him to return, with a promise of pardon, upon certain conditions, to Geoffry and the barons: but they would not accept it on the terms offered to them; which when young Henry found, he, according to his promise, went back to his father, and stayed with him in the town. Geoffry

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1183.

also left the castle ; but so far was he from following his brother's example, that putting himself at the head of his Brabanters, he infested and ruined, with merciless depredations, his father's domain in those countries. The young king, on the news of his acting in this manner, accused him to their father of having been the adviser of all their late offences ; and, to shew his resolution not to take any part in this renewed rebellion, delivered up to that monarch his horse and arms. After this he continued to negotiate with those he had left in the castle, authorised so to do (as I presume) by his father, who let him go frequently to and from the rebels there, without restraint. At length, perceiving all his endeavours unsuccessful, he made a solemn vow on the reliques of St. Martial, preserved in the castle, that he would instantly take the cross. And, perhaps, a better method to disintangle himself from the very incongruous and contradictory engagements, with which he was embarrassed, could not easily have been found. But, when he acquainted his father with this resolution, that prince strongly adjured him to examine himself, whether it sprung from religion, or merely from a fit of discontent. He affirmed upon oath, that the only motive he had for making this vow, was thereby to obtain a remission of his sins against his father ; who, nevertheless, still opposed the performance of this dangerous penance, and to entreaties joined tears. Whereupon his son, with great vehemence of passion, said, he would kill himself with his own hand, if he was not allowed to take the cross, which he declared he had long desired to do, but had delayed it, in hopes of being more perfectly reconciled to his father, without whose favour he thought the going on a pilgrimage would profit him nothing : and this declaration he confirmed, by solemnly attesting the body of Christ in the host, which had been consecrated

V. Author
citations, ut
supra.

separated that morning before his eyes. Henry then made him this answer, "May the will of God and thy will, my son, be done! I promise to assist, and fit thee out for this service, with an expence not inferior to that of any prince who has gone to the holy war in any past time." His son thanked him with many expressions of gratitude, and finding him in this temper, implored him to shew mercy to the garrison of the castle and the barons of Aquitaine; which, unable to resist the present warm emotions of paternal affection, he most graciously promised, without reserve or exception. But it seems that he afterwards (perhaps from a discovery of new offences against him) was desirous to limit the extent of this pardon; for, his son bringing to him the chief officers of the castle, he expressed an unwillingness to admit them to his presence: yet, they and that king throwing themselves at his feet, and humbly begging forgiveness, he granted it to them, on condition of their delivering to him certain hostages, whom he named. To this they consented, or pretended to consent, and returned to the castle together with the young king: but some persons, whom his father deputed to receive the hostages from them, were assaulted in the fort and almost killed.

Such a deed, one would think, must for ever have separated the young king from the rebels: but, on the contrary, we are told, he took new engagements with them, and became a worse enemy, than before, to his father. Perhaps he thought he had fully accomplished the promises he had made to that monarch, by bringing them to ask pardon, and thought it injurious to him, that, when he answered for them, other securities should be asked. And they might be encouraged to persevere in rebellion, from an opinion that, both in France and in England, their party would be strengthened by powerful insurrections. For soon

Benedict.
Abb.
H. woden, ad
aen. 1183.

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after this time, while King Henry, the father, was besieging the castle of Limoges, he imprisoned many persons who had joined with his sons in their first revolt against him, throughout all his dominions on the continent, and sent orders to his justiciaries in England that they should use the same caution : which they accordingly did, by arresting the earl and countess of Leicester, the earl of Gloucester, and many others of high rank in the kingdom. Thus whatever hopes of aid young Henry had conceived from any of these, on either side of the channel, were totally disappointed. But his father's strength was encreased by an army of Spaniards; Catalonians and Basques, which the king of Arragon brought to join him ; an assistance asked by him, because they were not so liable as his own troops to any contagion of treason.

In these circumstances the two brothers were forced to sue again for peace. The elder besought his father, that Maurice de Craon, and other lords, whom he named, might be impowered to treat with him in the castle of Limoges. This was granted ; but, while they were conferring with him, some of their retinue were killed, before his face, by his soldiers : and, a few days afterwards, two barons, sent to Geoffry from his father, had almost lost their lives in executing their commission ; one of them being much wounded, and the other thrown from a bridge, on which the conference was held, into the water beneath it, by some of Geoffry's train, and in his sight.

It may, I think, be presumed, that these acts of violence were not done with the consent of these princes, but proceeded from the lawless and ungovernable fury of some of their mercenaries, who desired that peace should not be made, and over whom, at this time, for want of money to pay them, they could exercise no restraining authority,

thority, but were indeed in their power. For, soon afterwards, Geoffry was admitted by his father to a conference with him : which he would not have been, if he had not cleared himself, to that king's satisfaction, of any share in the guilt of this offence. He was also permitted to go into the castle of Limoges, in order to treat with his brother, and the chiefs of the rebels, about a peace, which he promised to bring them to accept on such terms, as his father was now disposed to grant. Probably Henry might think, they would pay more regard to the persuasions of one they looked upon as their friend, than to those of any minister he could employ, and was afraid to expose another of his servants to the risk of treating with them. Geoffry therefore was sent ; but all we know of what passed after he entered the castle is, that he stripped St. Martial's shrine, which was within that inclosure, of its covering of silver, and robbed the convent of its gold and silver plate, which booty he applied to pay his Brabanters, having got it to his camp by means of a prolongation of the truce with his father till the following day. This must certainly have been done with his brother's approbation, as a method to supply the necessities of the party, till better terms could be gained than those which his father had impowered him to offer. Indeed, both these princes were now in a state of hostility with the church, the thunders of which, they well knew, were ready to fall upon their heads. For Pope Lucius had sent a positive mandate to the bishops of England, and particularly to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, which required those prelates to excommunicate them and all their adherents, if they did not desist from disturbing their father's peace, within a term there assigned. This was notified to young Henry by a letter from the primate, which is extant among those of Peter de Blois, whose pen he employed

Benedict.
Abb. ad ann.
1183.
Hoveden,
ibidem.

V. Petri Be-
sen. Ep. ii. 47.

employed in this business. He there reproaches that prince for making himself a captain of Brabanters; an excommunicated and desperate band of free-booters, against a people affectionately devoted to him; and for giving up, as a prey to the rapine of these troops, his father's territories, which his duty obliged him to defend and preserve, even by shedding his blood to the last drop. "What (says he) has your father done to offend you? He never acted towards you as your king or lord, but always as a guardian of your kingdom for you, and a most faithful servant in the administration of all your affairs. He lives for you, not himself. All his power, all his knowledge, whatever he achieves, whatever he acquires, whatever he possesses, is yours. Where is your filial affection, where your reverence for your father? What regard do you pay to the law of nature, what to the fear of God, what to those oaths you took, in our presence, to your father, what to that obligation which you laid upon me, and other bishops of England, to be sureties for you to him? The whole world extols your valour, your discretion, your liberality, your constancy, your beauty, and other graces with which nature has profusely adorned you! But, if you fail in humility and love to your father, the more celebrated your praise is in other respects, the more infamy will this defect bring upon you, and the further will it spread. You have known that your father has a temper of mind which humility alone can soften. Be therefore subject to him, and he will submit his will to yours. With great toils and expences he strengthens and establishes your kingdom and throne, so that no hostile forces of barbarous invaders may in times to come overturn it. The hereditary succession is secured to you; wait patiently for it. An inheritance, which

" which a man is in haste to possess, will (as Solomon testifies) be unblest when it comes. You
 " are too much seduced by the suggestions of
 " flatterers, who, not desiring your honour, but
 " the distribution of honours and emoluments for
 " themselves, and wanting to exercise *their* domi-
 " nion (not *yours*) over the miserable people,
 " whisper to you, and persuade you that you
 " ought to claim to yourself, for your own sepa-
 " rate use, a certain portion of the realm. Would
 " you not act more wisely in maintaining the peace
 " and tranquillity of your subjects by the pru-
 " dence of your father, than in disturbing them
 " by the rash and interested counsels of faithless
 " flatterers? Believe me, you could not, by a
 " great deal of violence, and by many crimes,
 " extort from all France so much money, as you
 " now draw, without any difficulty or crime, from
 " the bounty of your father."

In all these remonstrances there was, doubtless, great truth; and they shew the chief cause of the young king's repeated discontents and rebellions. They also shew why his father so pertinaciously refused to gratify his desire of a separate and independent dominion. The letter concluded with a notification to him, that if, within fifteen days from the delivery of it, he and all his adherents did not lay down their arms, they should, in pursuance of the pope's express mandate, be excommunicated, without any liberty of appeal.

However obstinate this young prince might be, he could not help perceiving into how bad a state the execution of this menace would put him and his brother; but they had taken engagements which they could neither make good, nor recede from with honour. The nobles with whom they were combined, apprehensive of punishment, and abhorring the thought of being forced to submit to the domination of Richard, opposed every step

towards

towards an agreement, of which that submission was to be the foundation. At the same time, the Brabanters, in whom the greatest strength of the party consisted, being under a sentence of excommunication, laid upon them by the pope and Lateran council, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-nine, could not be moved by the fear of such an anathema now, but were only solicitous to secure their pay, which those who had hired them wanted ability to discharge, and which they despaired of obtaining, in the present state of things, by means of any treaty. They desired therefore to try the fortune of war, and there is reason to believe, they expected to be joined by the militia of Anjou: for we find that some troops, which had been raised in that country by Henry the elder, to serve him against the king his son, about this time, had, before they came into the sight of the enemy, run away from their colours. It is surprising that this should have happened in Anjou, where he had done many gracious and popular acts, particularly one, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven, when there being a great dearth of corn in that province and the neighbouring county of Mainé, he fed every day ten thousand poor people, from the first of April, till after the harvest was got in, opening to them all his granaries, and magazines of provisions, and wine-cellars in those parts! Peter of Blois, in a letter he wrote on this subject to the bishop of Angers, imputes the crime of these troops, in so ungratefully forsaking their generous benefactor, to their thinking that his son would probably live much longer than he, and fearing to remain exposed to the vengeance of this their future lord, if they should now fight against him. Whatever the cause of it was, an assurance of their being in such a disposition might encourage the young king to send no other reply to the above-mentioned letter from

V. Petri
B'ensf.
Epist. 69.

Diceto, col.
589.

Peter Blef.
Epist. 69.

Diceto, col.
617.

from the archbishop of Canterbury, than a repetition of what he had always declared, that he did not make this war against his father, but against his brother Richard, with intent to deliver the barons of Poitou from the oppressive and violent government of that prince.

Hereupon, by the orders of King Henry the elder, on the feast of the Ascension, in this year eleven hundred and eighty-three, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and several Norman bishops, with all the abbots in Normandy, and many of the clergy, assembled at Caen, and pronounced a solemn sentence of excommunication against all who disturbed that monarch's peace, according to the mandate which they had received from the pope. This was instantly notified by Peter of Blois to the bishop of Angers, and that prelate was required to pass a like sentence on the soldiery in his diocese, who so shamefully had deserted their master's service. Whether these censures availed to bring them back to their duty we are not told; but undoubtedly the proceedings of the assembly at Caen, and the authority of the pope, upon which they were grounded, stopped many, on whose aid the rebel princes had counted, from joining them at this time. Nevertheless they persisted in the desperate part they had taken; and the young king, to supply the necessities of his Brabanters, was forced to have recourse to some odious means which his brother Geoffry had used: he led them to pillage the wealthy shrine of a saint in the neighbourhood of Limoges, from the castle of which city a free communication was open at this time to the country behind it, though his father's troops shut it up on the side of the town. But this sacrilege only furnished him with a short and scanty relief for the importunate and never-ceasing demands of a mercenary army unpaid. To discharge their arrears, and enable him to procure

Epist. 69.
ut sup. a.
Benedict.
Abb. ad ann.
1183.

Benedict.
Abb.
ad. ann. 1183.

Neubri, enf.
L. iii. c. 9.

cure for the barons of Aquitaine such a peace as they wished, a victory was so needful, that those about him inclined rather to run any hazards, than not to try to obtain one. A resolution was therefore taken by his council of war to attack his father's army, and force him to a battle, on the Monday after the approaching feast of Pentecost, by which time he proposed to assemble all his forces, in order to make this attempt. But a doubt of the event, a dread of the consequences if he should be defeated, a natural horror of the thought of that heinous guilt, which would indelibly stain his soul, and render his memory infamous to all future ages, if his father should fall in this fight, so agitated his mind, that it threw him into a fever, which obliged him to remove from his camp to a castle in the viscounty of Turenne. Here his sickness encreased; a bloody flux soon came on; neither that nor the fever would yield to any remedies; his physicians despaired; they let him know he must die. On receiving this sentence, the agony of his mind redoubled. He immediately sent a message to his father, humbly confessing his fault, and earnestly imploring him, as the last instance of paternal tenderness, to come and see his dying son. Henry, touched to the heart, was desirous to yield to this request; but, his friends representing to him how dangerous it would be, to trust his person to those flagitious conspirators who were about the sick prince, he took from his finger a ring, well known to his son, and sent it to him by the archbishop of Bourdeaux, as a token of his pardon. When this was delivered to that prince, he kissed it, and entreated the prelate to return to his father, and carry to him his last request, that he would be merciful to the barons of Aquitaine, and pay his knights and servants the wages due to them. Then putting on sackcloth, and tying a halter about his neck, he ordered

ordered the bishops, and other ecclesiasticks who stood round his bed, to draw him thence and lay him on a heap of ashes, spread over the floor for this purpose ; which they having done, he desired that his body might be buried at Rouen, received the sacraments, and expired.

While this melancholy scene was passing, the archbishop of Bourdeaux had brought to King Henry the elder his son's last supplications, and a favourable answer had been returned ; but, before the report of it could be made to that prince, he was no more. When his father was informed of his decease, though prepared to expect it, he was so affected with it, that he fainted away three times, and when he came to himself gave vent to his sorrow with immoderate lamentations, forgetting all the offences which his son had repeatedly committed against him, and dwelling only on the thought, how much might have been hoped from that prince's great endowments if it had pleased God to spare his life, and if his active, aspiring mind, being reformed by repentance, had taken a right turn. But, whilst he was thus indulging an excessive and unprofitable passion of grief, Richard, hearing that the rebels, on the news of his brother's death, had left their camp and dispersed, pursued and put to the sword some scattered parties of them. Nor did Henry remain long unactive ; but seeking consolation in the operations of war, made repeated attacks on the castle of Limoges, the garrison of which, despairing of help from their friends, whom the death of their chief had confounded, quickly surrendered it to him ; whereupon he commanded, that not one stone of it should be left upon another. All the other strong places, belonging to the rebels, were in like manner destroyed, excepting a few which he chose to keep himself. He also took into his own possession those castles, which, before the war, he had
given

given to Richard in Poitou, designing thereby to reserve entirely to himself the disposal of that province. His son Geoffry he pardoned, but, to secure the obedience of that prince for the future, put his own garrisons into all the fortresses of Bretagne, with a declared resolution to hold them and the dutchy under his own government as long as he should think fit. The disturbances in all his territories abroad having thus been composed, he disbanded his forces, giving many rich presents to the king of Arragon, with grateful acknowledgments of his obligations to him for the friendly aid he had brought. It does not appear that any of the rebels were otherwise punished than by losing their castles, though there is no mention made of Henry's having granted them any capitulations, but on the contrary, from the words of contemporary authors, it seems they were forced to surrender at discretion. We may therefore presume, that the mercy shewn to them and the barons of Aquitaine was the pure effect of a kind regard in the father to the last request of his son. The corpse of that prince, shrowded in those linen garments wherein he had been consecrated at his coronation, and wrapt up in lead, was carried on the shoulders of his servants and officers from the castle of Martel in Turenne, where he died, to be interred at Rouen; and on the way to that city, was placed for a night in the cathedral church of Mans: but the next morning, when the bearers were going to continue their journey, the bishop and clergy of Mans, encouraged and assisted by a multitude of the people, forbade them to remove it, and buried it in the choir, where the body of his grandfather, Geoffry Plantagenet, lay. A few days afterwards, the archbishop of Rouen, and the Norman clergy and people, sent a message to Mans, threatening, that, if the inhabitants of that town did not restore to them the corpse thus violently detained, they

Diceto,
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ed
Ann. 1183.

they would come and force it from them. Nevertheless their demand was obstinately refused, and a war was breaking out on this extraordinary quarrel, when the king heard the cause, and determined the dispute in favour of Rouen, as it was proved that his son had chosen that city for the place of his burial. To produce such a contest, there must have been something uncommonly amiable in the character of that prince! Accordingly Gervase, a contemporary writer, speaking of the nobles who joined him and his mercenary forces a little before his decease, says, "*that some came out of enmity to the king his father, others wishing to pull down his brother Richard, but all from a desire to make him victorious: for he was amiable to all, of a beautiful countenance, and second to none in the glory of military prowess; humble, docile, and affable, so that he was greatly and universally beloved. On the contrary, Richard was so hated by all men, that they desired to expel him even from his own territories.*" And Giraldus Cambrensis, in a book which he published soon after the death of this young king, paints him in much the same colours. William of Newbury, who speaks the most unfavourably of him, confesses that his character, even after his death, was highly extolled by the general voice of mankind, and adds, "*that some had so much impudence, as to spread a report of many miraculous cures performed at his tomb, in order to raise a belief that his cause was just, or that his death-bed repentance had gained him a more than ordinary portion of the divine favour.*" It is well that the pope was against him in this quarrel; for, had his rebellion been favoured by the see of Rome and the clergy, these stories might have found a sufficient degree of credit to make him a saint, and his father might have gone in pilgrimage to his tomb, as he did to that of Becket.

Gervase, col.

1469.

Topographia
Hibernia,
p. 752.

One circumstance, not remarked by any writer of those times, deserves observation. Though this prince, on his death-bed, declared such deep contrition for having offended his father, he sent no message to his brother Richard, nor expressed any sorrow for what he had done against him, nor any desire to be reconciled to him before he died! This indicates an opinion, strongly rooted in his mind, that his cause against Richard was just and good, or a hatred so implacable, that it would not give way even to a death-bed repentance! One may therefore well doubt, considering the animosity between these two princes, and the high spirit in both, whether, if God had prolonged the life of the eldest, all their father's intercessions; or all his authority, could have ever persuaded them to live with each other in true fraternal concord. But, by the death of the young king, all controversy concerning the dutchy of Aquitaine and the homage due for it ceased. Richard owned the superiority of his father therein; and those who had resisted his being the ruler and administrator thereof during the life of his father, or inheriting it after the decease of that monarch; were entirely subdued. He was also heir apparent to the earldoms of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and to the dutchy of Normandy, under which Geoffry held Bretagne in fee: so that all his father's power and greatness on the continent would have descended to him, together with the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the sovereignty over the two last, as well as over the principalities (or kingdoms) of Wales, being annexed to the former. But Henry chose at this time, that Aquitaine should be transferred to John, the youngest of his three surviving sons, to be held in the same manner, as he before had desired that Richard should hold it, under homage to the eldest. From what motives he did this, the contemporary historians

rians have left us no account. It was not because a suitable apanage was otherwise wanting for John: the realm of Ireland, and the lands in England and Normandy secured to him by a promise of the earl of Gloucester's rich heiress to be given him in marriage, and the other fiefs granted to him, being an ample provision for any king's youngest son. The adding Aquitaine to them would have hindered him from residing so constantly in Ireland as the English interest there required, and have frustrated one great purpose, for which the measure of enfeoffing him in that kingdom had originally been taken. But the greatest objection to this proposal was, that, if Richard was not willing to part with the dutchy, Henry's pressing him to it might probably kindle another civil war between the sons of that king, immediately after the extinguishing of the former, and be a source of perpetual discord in his family, which he should have endeavoured by all means to unite. There was good cause to think that Richard would not consent to such an alteration; and in fact when his father desired him to give up the possession of Aquitaine to his brother John, and receive homage for it, he entreated a delay of two or three days, in order to consult his friends on the answer he ought to make; which being granted, he went from Normandy into Poitou, and sent from thence to his father a positive declaration, that he never would agree that any man but himself should possess those dominions. What consequences ensued will be mentioned hereafter, when an account has been given of some other preceding and important transactions.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
c. 401.

On the death of young Henry there arose a dispute concerning his widow's dower, between his father and her brother Philip, to whose court she had gone when her husband first engaged in the late intestine war, as to an asylum she might

ibid. ad
ann. 1183.

want. Philip required that Gisors, with all its dependencies, which, he said, had been given as her marriage portion, should, on the death of her husband without issue, be returned ; and that certain lands, which that prince had assigned for her dower, should be delivered to her. But Henry answered, that Gisors, with the whole Norman Vexin, belonged by ancient right to the duchy of Normandy ; and that Louis, Philip's father, had renounced all title to it, when his daughter was married. As for the lands which her husband had settled upon her, he said, a prior settlement had been made of them, by himself, on Eleanor, his queen ; which he offered to prove in the king of France's own court. Philip could not say much to controvert the truth of any of these assertions ; yet it was hard, that, because there had been an error in the settlement, his sister should have no dower. The matter, therefore, was, after some conferences about it, compromised in this manner, that, instead of what was demanded, she should have an annuity of two thousand seven hundred Angevin pounds for her life, payable to her at Paris ; and that Philip and she should renounce all claim to Gisors, and to the whole Norman Vexin, on condition *that Henry should give them to either of his two unmarried sons in marriage with Adalais*, the other princess of France, who had been designed for Duke Richard.

Bened' Ct.
Aob. t. ii.
s. 399.

This article shews, that some proposal of marrying this lady to John had been agitated in the conferences between Henry and Philip preceding this agreement, and that Philip himself did not think her so far betrothed to Richard, as not to be at liberty, if all parties desired it, to marry his brother. The decree before-mentioned of the second Lateran Council concerning contracts between infants, was applicable here, and had, I presume, its due weight. As for John, though a match
between

between him and the daughter of William earl of Gloucester had been desired by his father, and agreed to by her's, no contract had yet bound the parties to each other. It is highly probable that the cession of the dutchy of Aquitaine from Richard to John in fee was proposed by their father, as a means to make Philip consent the more willingly to this alteration. It was for the interest of the crown of France, that this mighty fief should be held by the youngest of the King of England's sons, who was to have no other dominions in France, nor any where else but in Ireland, rather than by the eldest, to whom, as heir apparent to his father, so many and so great would devolve. But why Henry should desire to transfer Adelaïs from the eldest to the youngest, against her first destination, and to facilitate that by likewise transferring the possession of Aquitaine, there does not appear any good political reason. It certainly was repugnant to what ambitious princes have usually most at heart, the preserving the succession to their territories and states, however numerous, or extensive, undivided and entire. One may therefore well suspect, that, meaning to keep the lady unmarried, he thought he should gain time by this negotiation, and find means to stop John, when once possessed of the dutchy, from concluding the marriage; as the tender age of that prince, who was but seventeen years old, would furnish him with a good excuse for delay. Whatever his motives were, after vainly endeavouring for several months, to prevail upon Richard to give up these dominions, or some part of them, to John, he sent the latter and Geoffry to extort from that prince an involuntary consent by ravaging his domains. Yet he seems to have repented of this violent act as soon as he had done it: for, Richard not yielding to the terror of their arms, but, with some friends he had gained, or some troops he had hired, carrying fire and

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 404. 4. 5.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 399. ad
ann. 1183.

Ibidem.

Ibidem,
f. 402, 403.
Dicero,
ad ann.
1184.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 404.
Gervase,
ad ann. 1184.

sword into Geoffry's territories, the paternal authority was prudently interposed to put an end to their discord. But before I relate the manner in which this was done, notice must be taken that Henry, in his last conference with the king of France on this subject, when they came to the amicable agreement before-mentioned, did homage to that monarch *for all his transmarine dominions*. If Philip was well pleased to receive this acknowledgment of vassalage from him, which he had withheld hitherto, and seemed unwilling to yield, he also had good reason to submit to it now; as the paying it for all his fiefs in France, without reserve or exception, was a public evidence that those parts allotted to his sons were held by them as mesne tenants or sub-vassals under him, not immediately under Philip; and that king's admission of it was a very important act for the settling of all doubts on this question hereafter.

The counts of Flanders had died in the autumn of the year eleven hundred and eighty-three; which event giving hopes that the earl might have issue by another marriage, he proposed to wed Beatrix, the daughter of Alphonso king of Portugal, a young and beautiful princess: but, as soon as this was known, the king of France, who suspected, that, if the earl should have an heir, the province of Vermandois, which he wanted to re-annex to his royal domain, would not be given up, insisted on being put into present possession of it, affirming that the earl had promised to resign it if he had no son by his first wife. This demand being obstinately refused by that prince, a war was just breaking out between him and Philip in the spring of this year eleven hundred and eighty-four; but, through Henry's mediation, they were brought to confer with each other at Choisi, where he laboured to put an amicable end to this dispute, but could only prevail with them to conclude a truce,

truce, which was to last for a year from the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist next ensuing. Benedict. Abb. t. ii. f. 403. Soon after that day the infant of Portugal, who had landed at Rochelle, and had been conducted from thence by Henry's officers, at his charge, through many of his territories, was met by the earl at a castle on the borders of Normandy, and married to him there. But Henry himself had before, on the earl's invitation, passed thro' Flanders in returning out of France into England, from whence he now had been absent, much against his own will, above two years. The earl conducted him, with great honours, as far as the port of Witsand, where, leaving all his train, he took only one ship, which carried him to Dover, and was ordered back to bring over the dutchess of Saxony, who, with the rest of his household, were very near being shipwrecked by a violent storm, which caught them in their passage. On her arrival at the palace of her father in Winchester, her mother, Benedict. Abb. Hoveden, ad ann. 1134. Queen Eleanor, was released from the custody in which she had been some years confined, and allowed to go to her. It is said that this favour was owing to the intercession of the archbishop of Canterbury: but, probably, other causes concurred to procure it: for Henry had talked, the year before, of sending her into Aquitaine, to reside there on those lands which he had assigned for her dower, but which then were demanded by the king of France, as a dower for his sister; and many other secret motives may have determined her husband to take the occasion of her daughter's coming over, to set her free at this time. The dutchess was soon afterwards delivered of a son, whom his royal grandfather named, at his baptism, William, and to whom, in his riper years, the surname of Longsword was given by the Germans. From this prince, in whose veins the blood of the ancient kings of England and Scotland, of the dukes of Normandy,

Normandy, and of the earls of Anjou, was mingled with that of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brunswick, is descended the illustrious house of Hanover, since called to the imperial throne of Great-Britain.

The duke of Saxony, after the pilgrimage he had made to Saint James of Compostella, had returned into Normandy, and resided there with his wife, in the court of his father-in-law, from the end of the year eleven hundred and eighty-two till Henry's return into England; but he did not go with that prince, being detained by some cause which I do not find well explained in the history of those times, till about the beginning of August in this year, eleven hundred and eighty-four, when he landed at Dover, and was kindly received by the king, who paid him all the same honours as if he had been still in the highest exaltation of his former state and power. Before his arrival, his daughter, the princess Matilda, being with her mother in England, had been asked in marriage by William the Lion, king of Scotland; a very advantageous proposal, to which Henry and the dutchess had gladly consented: but, the parties being third cousins, it was necessary to have a dispensation from Rome, and an application for one had been immediately made by William to Pope Lucius.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 410, 411.

Ibidem,
f. 407, 408.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 412, 413.

While the answer was expected, the archbishop of Cologne, accompanied by the earl of Flanders, came to Canterbury, on a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb. Henry met them at Dover, and, after they had put up their prayers to the saint, brought them with him to London, of which metropolis all the citizens received them crowned with garlands; a demonstration of joy, which, a contemporary writer tells us, had never been shewn before. It appears very evident, that pilgrimages to Becket were now made a pretence to carry on the intrigues of princes and great men of other countries with Henry. The earl of Blois, who is called, by an
author

author of those times, *first minister of France*, had ^{ibidem.} lately used the same cover for a visit to that king, with whom he stayed fifteen days. And it can not be doubted that business, not devotion, brought over the archbishop of Cologne into England; for he came with powers from the emperor, on some overtures made by Henry, to conclude a ^{Hoveden, ad ann. 1184.} marriage between Richard, now that monarch's eldest son, and the emperor's daughter. It was this which occasioned the extraordinary honours paid to him by Henry, whose desire to put an unsurmountable bar between Richard and the princess Adelais of France would have been fully accomplished by his marrying another; and in point of alliance, the emperor's daughter would have been the best amends for his losing the match with the king of France's sister. This affair was therefore settled before the archbishop departed out of England, and pledges were given on both sides. Henry likewise took advantage of the present opportunity to endeavour to reconcile this powerful prelate to the duke of Saxony, whose capital enemy he had been; and some authors affirm, he happily succeeded therein; but ^{Benedict. Abb. ad ann. 1184. Hoveden.} Gervase of Canterbury says, with much more probability, that he failed of his purpose. Nevertheless he sent ministers to a council appointed to be held at Verona, not long after this time, under the emperor and the pope, with instructions to request the friendly intercessions of the latter with the former in behalf of the duke.

The conjuncture seemed favourable to such a negotiation; Henry having conferred a great obligation on Lucius, a few months before. The citizens of Rome had rebelled against that pontiff, for having refused to confirm certain privileges or customs, which, under his predecessors, they had freely enjoyed; and, though the emperor's chancellor, the archbishop of Mentz, had assisted him

^{Benedict. Abb. t. 5. ad ann. 1183. 1184. Hoveden.}

in

in this quarrel by the orders of his master, yet, he and many of his troops having perished by sickness (the usual effect of the Roman Campagna on strangers) the rest dispersed; and the pope was driven to such straits, that he applied to all the princes and clergy in Europe who were of his communion, for an aid in money, *to defend the patrimony of St. Peter against the Romans*. The nuncios sent on this business found Henry in Normandy, who would not return any answer till he had taken the sense of his English bishops upon it; and these, being convened by Richard de Lucy, represented to the king, that, if he allowed the nuncios to come into England for the collection of this money, it might be made a precedent for future demands to the detriment of the kingdom; wherefore they desired (*as a more tolerable evil*) that he would let them repay to him any sum which he should be pleased to give, *as from himself*, to the pope. This counsel was prudent, and Henry acted by it; but his Holiness had the subsidy, which he very much wanted; and such a service demanded some gratitude on his part. Nor was it improbable that the emperor would favour the duke of Saxony at this juncture of time, when the brother of the dutchess was to marry his daughter, and when, by the death of Otho count of Wettlespach, which had happened in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, the dutchty of Bavaria, which after the proscription of Henry, the Lion had been given to that lord, was left to an infant. In order, therefore, that the duke might be enabled to profit by this event, his father-in-law desired, that the pope would absolve him from the oath he had taken, not to return into Germany before the end of three years, and that the emperor would consent to his returning immediately, for the purpose of soliciting the states of the empire to restore to him some part of his Ba-
varian

varian dominions. What this negotiation at Verona produced, I shall have occasion to relate hereafter; but, in giving an account of the transactions of the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, it must be observed, that the earl of Flanders, when he came to Canterbury in company with the archbishop of Cologne, had, as well as that prelate, other business in England than devotion to St. Thomas. They were closely united in confederacy against the king of France, if that monarch should persist, as it seemed he would do, in demanding a present cession of the Vermandois from the earl. What instructions the archbishop, as minister to the emperor, had received from his master concerning this affair, we are not told: but that the main intent of this visit to Becket's sepulchre was to try by a personal treaty with Henry, to draw him into a league against the French monarch, may reasonably be supposed; and perhaps the neutrality he resolved to observe, determined the emperor to take no direct or open part in this quarrel. Nevertheless, when the earl and his ally the archbishop were returned into Flanders, they attacked the count of Hainault, father-in-law to king Philip, on account (as they gave out) of his having encroached, while they were in England, on the territory of Flanders, by attempting to erect a fortress there. But the real offence was his abetting the demand Philip made of the Vermandois; and therefore that monarch, though ill-prepared for a war, which he did not then expect, took up arms to defend him. Thus the truce which King Henry had concluded was broken, and the earl, at the head of a very numerous army, passed the Somme and the Oise, declaring he would not stop till he had planted his standards in the city of Paris. But, while he was besieging the castle of Betili in the neighbourhood of Senlis, (a place now gone to ruin) Philip joined to the vassals whom

Gul. Armoricus, f. 72.
73. ad ann.
1184.

whom he could speedily draw together, a strong body of Brabanters, which he found means to hire, and marched from Compiègne, declaring a resolution to fight with the Flemings. On advice of his approach, the earl raised the siege, and retired back to the Somme, desiring to make himself master of Corbie on the banks of that river, before he should give the king battle. The outward wall was forced by him; but whilst he was assaulting, or preparing to assault, the inward enclosure, Philip again came towards him; whereupon he desisted from this enterprise also, with much disgrace to his arms. Corbie being thus saved, the king advanced towards Amiens, and laid siege to Boves, a fortress situated about four miles from that city. The earl encamped so near to him, that it was expected a battle would be fought the next day: but, through the mediation of the archbishop of Rheims, who not long before had been made a cardinal, and his brother the earl of Blois, who led the king's troops, a peace was agreed to, which the earl bought very dear (as the French historians say) by yielding to Philip the present possession of the Vermandois with all its dependencies, and making compensation to the count of Hainault for the damages done to him: but our writers affirm that the treaty was not brought to its full conclusion this year; and it is probable that the earl chicaned and delayed it by every artifice he could use. There is reason to believe, that, when he first drew the sword and passed the Somme, he thought the forces which Philip could presently bring to oppose him very unequal to his, and had no apprehension of that king's employing the Brabanters, whom the whole church had proscribed, against whom a pious league had lately been formed by many of Philip's subjects, and of whom above seven thousand had, but the year before, been cut to pieces in Berry, by

V. Rigordum
de Gestis
Philippi
Augusti, &
Guilhelm.
Armoricum
apud
Duchefne,
t. v. f. 12,
13, ad ann.
1184.

V. Rigord, et
Gul. Armor.
ad ann. 1183.

by the people of that province, assisted by some troops which he had sent to their aid. Such a measure was indeed very odious to the nation: but these mercenary bands, being always kept on foot and ready for action, were so useful to princes who had money to hire them, on any sudden exigence, that no censures of the church, no execrations of the people, no experience of the mischiefs they often caused in a kingdom, could deter even those kings who affected (as Philip did) to seem very religious and to court popularity, from taking them into their pay! Yet, whatever present benefit may have sometimes attended the employing of such troops, a regular standing army of national forces, well disciplined and maintained under proper legal checks, is a far better defence and security to a state; the want of which in those countries where feudal governments were established produced the great evil of encouraging mercenaries, collected (as these were) from many different nations, and tied to none by the bonds of loyalty or affection, but sold by their leaders to those who would purchase them at the highest price, for any good or bad purpose.

I have said that King Henry, who was always unwilling to enter into any war which could well be avoided, remained neutral in this: yet he did not forbid one of his principal nobles to serve the earl of Flanders, in whose court that valiant lord had received his education, who had made him a knight, and under whom he held some fiefs: I mean William de Mandeville earl of Essex and Albemarle, the last of which earldoms he had gained in the year eleven hundred and eighty, through the favour of Henry, by a marriage with the heiress, a ward of the crown. Nor was his being permitted to take this part considered in those days as any breach of the friendship which his sovereign cultivated with the king of France.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 416.

Dugdale's
Baronage.
Mandeville.

The

Benedit.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 408.

Ibidem,
f. 411.

The commotions, which had happened on the borders of South Wales, while Henry was abroad, had now got to such a height, that Rhees ap Gryffyth himself, whom that king had made his justiciary in those parts, and who had done him very loyal and affectionate services upon other occasions, was in open rebellion together with two of his nephews, and had taken, by force of arms, some castles and lands in South Wales which belonged to the crown. Henry, therefore, as soon as his other affairs would permit, raised an army, and marched at the head of it himself against this prince, who, terrified at his coming, desired a safe conduct to wait upon him at Worcester, where he promised upon oath to give him his son for an hostage, restore all his late conquests, and do every thing in his power to reduce both his nephews to an entire submission. That he might be enabled to perform these engagements, a truce was granted to him, at the expiration of which he came again to the king, who then was at Gloucester, but did not bring with him either his son or his nephews; the latter refusing to come, or even lay down their arms on the terms prescribed to them. Yet the king was induced, on conferring with this prince, to desist from his purpose of marching into Wales; which indicates that he thought the appeasing of these troubles would be better effected, in the present state of things, by fair means than by force, and that Rhees, who was suffered to return freely thither, had good intentions towards him, and might be useful there.

Neubrigenf.
l. ii. c. 8.

During the course of these events, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, some occurrences of importance, relating to the church, had happened in England. On the sixteenth of February, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, a man of great integrity and simplicity of heart, not so learned, we are told, as some of the prelates

pelates contemporary with him, but excelling them all in the moderation and mildness of his principles and his temper, which, so long as he lived, were very serviceable to Henry in resisting and keeping down that violent spirit, which Becket had excited in the clergy of England against the civil power. The king was desirous that Baldwin, then bishop of Worcester, should be chosen in his place; and the suffragan bishops of the province of Canterbury unanimously concurred in electing him for their primate; but the monks of the convent of Christ Church in that city, had, without consulting them, or any but their own body, elected to that dignity the abbot of Battle, who had formerly been their prior; nominating also three others, out of which number the king, if he did not approve of the abbot, might chuse him he liked best. He rejected all the four; and in the end, after much negociation about it, they declared the election made by the bishops to be wholly null and void, but chose Baldwin themselves. There was really no exclusive right of election either in them or the bishops; the practice having been constant that they should all join therein, and the pope himself, on this occasion, having written to the bishops, as well as to the monks, a mandatory letter, requiring them to chuse an archbishop of Canterbury within the term of two months. During the heat of this dispute, the prior of the convent, who had been very active in asserting and supporting the claim of his monks, coming to wait on the king and the earl of Flanders at Canterbury, the king said to the earl, so loud as to be heard by others there present, *that this arrogant man desired to make an archbishop of Canterbury, according to his own pleasure, and to become another pope in England.* The earl replied as loudly, *that, rather than bear such insolence, he would burn all the churches in his dominions.* If we may believe an account which

Diceto, col.
619, ad
ann. 1154.

Grasse.
Ch. on. a. 1.
ann. 1154.
col. 1368.

Ibidem.

one

one of the convent has given in his history of those times, even the expedient which Henry was forced to come into for the ending of this business, though no very good one, was not obtained from the monks without such condescensions and entreaties from him, as were very unsuitable to the majesty of his crown. But the state of the times, and a very eager wish that the bishop of Worcester should be speedily and unanimously chosen archbishop, made him think any means of carrying that point more desirable than delay.

Gervase, col.
1795.

Presently after this election, information being given by one of the bishops, that Baldwin had held a private conference with them, concerning the reformation of the state of the church, and had promised to assist them in endeavouring to effect it, and likewise *to repair its shattered liberties*, Henry called them before him, and with tears in his eyes complained, "*that he was a miserable man and no king, or, if a king, had only the name of that dignity without the power. That the kingdom of England had once been an opulent and a glorious kingdom, but was now divided into so many small parces, that a very scanty portion was left to him unimpaired; most of it being possessed by black monks and white monks, or by different orders of canons regular, and no little part by foreign ecclesiastics, not one of whom he could, with a safe conscience, promote to a bishoprick or abby.*" He also drew a strong picture of the vices and debauchery of the parochial clergy, asking the bishops, "*how he or they should be able to answer for such things to the justice of God. Besides* (said he) "*those at Rome, from the weakness they see in you, domineer over us without mercy; they sell their letters to us; they do not seek justice, but litigious contention; they multiply appeals, they fleece the suitors, and desiring nothing but money, confound truth and destroy peace. What shall we say to*"
"these

" *these things? How shall we clear ourselves of them in the dreadful day of judgment? Go and consu't together about some effectual course to prevent these enormities.*"

By this discourse Henry tried to stimulate and encrease in the minds of his bishops that jealousy of the wealth and power of the monks, which he knew to be strong at this time, and which he hoped might incline them to make a common cause with him, in order to curb for the future the insolence of these men, prouder of their cowls than the prelates were of their mitres. It is also evident that he sought, by his complaints against Rome, to persuade them, instead of combining with that see in support of what they called *the liberties of the Church*, to join with him in restraining the intolerable abuses of the papal dominion, and the vices of the clergy over whom they were placed. But, they all standing silent, and after some delay asking counsel of him, he perceived that they feared to engage themselves too far in his designs, and was sensible that the temper of the new elected primate was not so favourable as that of his predecessor had been to what he wished in church-matters: wherefore he went no further now, than to advise them to check the incontinence of their clergy, and oppose institutions of secular canons in all the cathedral churches to monastic foundations. This counsel being relished, and archbishop Baldwin proposing, not long after this time, to build a college near to Canterbury for secular canons, the monks of that cathedral resisted the design with implacable fury, and great troubles arose from this dispute, of which, in its proper place, some account will be given.

Gervase, col. 1595, 1596.

A great number of the nobles and people of England having assembled at London, to assist at the ceremony of chusing a new primate, Henry caused his three sons to be reconciled to each other before

Benedict. Abb. ad ann. 1184.

before them all ; soon after which Geoffry was sent into Normandy, and put at the head of a council of regency entrusted by Henry with the government of that dutchy during his absence. It appears that the cession of the dutchy of Aquitaine from Richard to John, under homage to the former, was not insisted on now : and we do not find, that, either now or ever after this time, the former proposal of marrying Adelaïs of France to John instead of Richard was mentioned by their father ; one reason of which may have been, that the emperor's daughter, whom Richard was to marry, on giving up his pretensions to the king of France's sister, was lately dead : an event by which Henry's purposes, both public and private, were grievously disconcerted !

While that king was employed in terminating the contention about Baldwin's election, his ministers, who had gone to ask a dispensation from Pope Lucius the Third for the marriage of his grand-daughter with the king of Scotland, returned unsuccessful. It seems strange that the Roman see, which has often allowed uncles to marry their nieces, should not suffer this prince, who besought its indulgence, to marry his third cousin : but this scruple, I presume, had no other cause, than his non-compliance with what the sovereign pontiff required in behalf of John Scot, whom he had not yet admitted into the bishoprick of Dunkeld.

Henry was not prevented, by his application to these important affairs, from attending, with more than ordinary care, to a favourite object, the preservation of the royal woods and game. All the forests in England had been hitherto under one chief justice in eyre ; but this year, upon the death of Thomas Fitz-Bernard, who had succeeded to Alan de Nevil in that office, Henry made a division of them into four parts, and set over each four justices, two ecclesiasticks and two knights.

He

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
t. 417, 418,
419.
See also Ap-
pendix.

He likewise placed in each two gentlemen of his household as verdurers and keepers, with authority over all his foresters, and those of the barons and knights. These were sworn to observe an *assize of the forest* now made, wherein he strictly forbade all persons whatsoever to offend against him with respect to his game or his forests, and warned them not to trust, that, in case of their so offending, they should enjoy, for the future, the benefit of his mercy, as they had done hitherto, by suffering only in their goods: *for it was his will that full justice should be done on all persons duly convicted thereof, as in the time of his grandfather Henry the first, by the loss of their eyes, and castration.*

From hence it appears that the laws of the three first Norman kings, relating to forests, had not been repealed or altered by this prince; but that his mercy and goodness had prevented a rigorous execution thereof; mulcts or forfeitures of the chattels of offenders against them having been accepted instead of the corporal punishments which had before been inflicted. It likewise appears from *Neubrigenf.* the testimony of writers contemporary with him, that the menace of greater severity, now thrown out, was never executed by him. Why he chose, by the harshness of such a declaration, to lose the honour he had gained by the laudable clemency of his former proceedings, no reason is given. Probably he found, that, notwithstanding the heavy mulcts imposed for trespasses in his forests, the same practices still continued: but no benefit which this odious threat could produce was a compensation for the unpopularity of it; and if as a man he did well in not executing what he threatened, as a king he did ill in appearing to his people less humane than he was.

Other clauses in this edict prohibited the keeping of any bows, hounds, or greyhounds, within a royal forest, or the purlieu thereof, without a

warrant from the king, or from some other person who had power to grant it, and the felling or destroying woods within the precincts of such forest; but allowed earls, barons, and freeholders, having such woods, to take from thence what they wanted for their necessary uses, without waste, and with the view of the king's foresters. These were ordered to superintend the foresters of knights and others who had woods within his forests, and to take care that the woods were not destroyed; and notice was given to the owners, that, if such destruction happened, the amends would be taken from them and from their lands, not from any other person. The king's foresters were to swear that they would observe this assize to the utmost of their power, and not vex any knights, or other honest men, in the enjoyment of those rights which the king granted to them in his forests.

See Blackstone's great charter, and charter of the forests

It was well for the nation, when the charters of King John and Henry the Third rendered that mitigation of the Norman forest laws, which under Henry the Second was only a favour held during his pleasure, the legal right of the subject. It may be inferred from those charters, that some enlargements of the bounds of the royal forests had been made during the reign of this prince; but they distinguish between the afforestings under him and those under the two succeeding kings, by ordering all the latter to be instantly disforested, unless they were of woods confessedly belonging to the royal demesne; whereas the former were to be viewed, and it was to be found by the inquisition of a jury, whether they were encroachments on the rights of others, or were not. It is probable that some were; yet not, I presume, from any desire in this king to invade with the hand of power the property of his subjects, but by the fault of those officers who administered justice between him and the borderers in some of his forest courts.

Soon

Soon after Christmas, in this year eleven hundred and eighty-four, Richard had leave from his father to go into Poitou, which would not have been granted if the purpose of transferring the dutchy of Aquitaine from him to John had not been now laid aside. While Henry was at Winchester, about the beginning of the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, the ministers he had sent to the emperor and the pope, in behalf of the duke of Saxony, returned to him from Verona, with a favourable answer to all his requests. Yet that prince did not use the liberty granted to him of returning into Germany till the end of this year.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 432.

Ibitem, ad
ann. 1185.

Early in February some affairs called Henry to York, and he had proceeded as far as Nottingham on his way to that city, when hearing that Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the grand master of the knights hospitallers, were landed in England, he returned towards London, and met them at Reading. The patriarch, weeping, threw himself at his feet, and addressed him in words to this effect: "*My lord, the king, our Lord Jesus Christ calls you, and the cries of his people invite you, to the defence of the Holy Land. Behold the keys of its forts, which the king and nobles of the realm transmit to you by me, because you are the only one, in whom, under God, they place their trust and the hope of their preservation. Come then, sir, and delay not to deliver us out of the hands of our enemies: forasmuch as Saladin, the chief enemy of the cross of Christ, and all the nations round about us, arrogantly boast, that they will speedily invade the Holy Land (which God avert.)*" At the end of his speech Henry took him by the hand, and raised him up, saying, "*May our Lord Jesus Christ, the only powerful king, be the defender of his people, and we, assisted by him to whom honour and glory be-long, will (as far as we are able) co-operate with*

Benedict.
Abb. p. 403.
t. ii. ad ann.
1185.

Benedict.
Abb. t. li.
p. 429.

him therein." After these words he received from the hands of the Patriarch the keys of Jerusalem and of all the principal forts belonging to that realm, with those of the sepulchre in which Christ had been buried, and the royal banner, as a mark that the king of Jerusalem committed to him the chief command of his forces: but all these he soon afterwards returned to the custody of the prelate who had brought them, till he should have the advice of his bishops and nobles concerning this affair. There was likewise delivered to him, by the same hand, a letter from Pope Lucius, exhorting him to consider the great and imminent danger, that a land, which had been consecrated by the blood of Christ shed upon it, should be polluted by the filth of Mahometan superstition, and after having been freed from the yoke of the infidels, with many labours and perils, by his glorious predecessors, should now again be subjected to their tyranny: for the preventing of which irreparable loss to the Christian religion, his Holiness urged him to receive these ambassadors, *as sent from Christ himself*, and concluded the exhortation with gently reminding him of the vow he had made, and recommending it to his wisdom and serious meditation to ponder with himself, how his conscience would be able to answer on that point to the infallible and tremendous judgment of God.

Gen. Tyrus,
de bello sacro, l. 22.

Such indeed was the state of the Holy Land at this time, that without the intervention of extraordinary aid from the European powers it could not be saved. Since the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, when Lewis and Henry had joined in promising to defend it, the circumstances of it had continually changed from bad to worse. Baldwin the Fourth, who reigned over it, and had been always infirm, was, soon after he attained to the full age of manhood, afflicted with a leprosy, which

which obliged him, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, to retire from all business, and commit his realm to a regent, in the appointment of whom he suffered his affections to impose on his judgment. The earl of Tripoly, who had held that arduous post with no small reputation, in the nonage of this prince, was not called to it now; but the choice of Baldwin fell on Guy de Lusignan, who, having treacherously murdered the earl of Salisbury in Poitou, had fled from the justice of King Henry the Second, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-eight, and had found an asylum in the court of Jerusalem, where, after some time, the beauty of his person, more than any other merit, endeared him to Sibylla, the king's eldest sister, and the widow of William Longsword, second son of the marquis of Montferrat. This princess, in the year eleven hundred and eighty, prevailed on her brother, whose favour her lover had gained, to let her marry that lord without the consent of the barons of his realm. The same influence which induced him to approve of so unequal and so improper a match, was also the cause of his now entrusting Guy with the administration of his realm, only reserving to himself the city of Jerusalem and a pension of ten thousand crowns of gold. But, soon afterwards; thinking that the air of Jerusalem increased his distemper, he desired to exchange that city for Tyre, which the regent, with no less folly than ingratitude, refused to grant. Gul. Tyrus. de bello sacro, l. 22. This incensed him so much, that resuming the government, and associating with himself the son of Sibylla by her first husband, an infant of no more than five years old, he took from Lusignan all power, and the hopes of succeeding to the crown of Jerusalem, which, by creating him earl of Joppa and Ascalon (a dignity appropriated to the presumptive heir) he had before given to him. The great council, desirous of any alteration

tion which would free them from a master they did not esteem, gladly concurred in this act : nor did Sibylla oppose it, being sensible that his power could not then be maintained against her brother's will, and wishing thus to secure the crown to her son. But the association of a child to the government gave no strength to the kingdom, nor any help to the king, whose life was almost extinguished. A state so ruled was in danger, without any external foe, of destroying itself : and, while this was so weak, its most formidable enemy strengthened himself by new conquests. In the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, Saladin made himself master of the city of Aleppo and its whole principality ; after which acquisition, all Syria being his, except what belonged to the kingdom of Jerusalem, the great danger of this also becoming his prey, forced Sibylla, who governed in the name of her brother and of her infant son, to call the earl of Tripoly to the administration, with the title of regent. That prince, well discerning the urgent necessity of a foreign assistance, and believing, on good grounds, that none so effectual could any where be obtained as from Henry, king of England, sent the embassy above-mentioned, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, but ordered the ambassadors to go by Rome, and endeavour to procure the pope's intercession to forward their business, which Lucius the Third, whom they found at Verona, very willingly granted to them, by writing to Henry the letter on that subject, of which I have given the contents.

On the first Sunday of Lent in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, a great council, to which the king of Scotland was summoned, with all the barons of that realm, now subjected to England, met at London, to consult with their sovereign on this matter, and (as some writers say) unanimously came

came to this resolution, that it would be proper for Henry to advise thereupon with his liege lord, the king of France. Indeed, for him to have taken upon himself the whole burthen of defending the Holy Land, without the aid of that monarch, who had promised to join him, would have been most improper. But others tell us, that, after a long deliberation, whether it would be most advisable for the king, to succour in person the people of Jerusalem, or continue to govern the kingdom of England according to his coronation oath, the whole assembly resolved, that *to rule his own subjects with due moderation, and to defend them from foreign enemies, was more expedient and much more for the good of his soul, than to risk his person in taking care of a people in the East.* A most wise determination, which, had it been adhered to in the following reign, would have saved Henry's successor, and the whole English nation, from many great evils!

The patriarch, who was present at this consultation, together with his colleague, the master of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, desired that Prince Richard, or Geoffry Plantagenet, might, as the parliament judged it inexpedient, at this time, for King Henry, their father, to go to the Holy Land, be sent thither in his stead: but, as they both were in France, nothing could be resolved on, with relation to them, in their absence. Yet, lest it should be thought, that this embassy, from Jerusalem had been wholly unsuccessful, many Englishmen were allowed to enlist themselves for the holy war by receiving the cross from the hands of the patriarch, and Henry promised a subsidy of fifty thousand marks, equivalent to one of five hundred thousand pounds sterling given in these days. He had likewise by a will, made at Waltham, of the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, bequeathed to the general defence of the

Diceto Imag.
Hist. col.
626. Gerv.
vak, Chron.
ad ann.
1185.

Gerv. 6, ad
ann. 1185.

V. Rymer's
Fœdera, ad
ann. 1182.
t. i. p. 57.
See it also
in the Ap-
pendix.

Holy

G. de Vine-
sant Ric.
Reg. Hiero-
soly. L. i.
c. 12.

Rymer's
Fœdera, ut
suprà.

Holy Land five thousand marks, over and above another sum, not specified in the will, which he had committed to the custody of the masters of the temple and hospital in Jerusalem, some time before, to be employed for that purpose, unless he should in his life-time resume the deposit. An historian, who wrote the best relation we have of the ensuing crusade, says, it was reported that this money, remitted by degrees, through the course of many years, amounted in the whole to thirty thousand marks, which afterwards were laid out in many useful services, and particularly in defending the city of Tyre. There was also in the will a further bequest of ten thousand marks to the two religious houses of templars and hospitallers, and of five thousand more to all the other convents and hospitals in Jerusalem: so expensive to England was the zeal of this king for the welfare of that city, or his submission to the penance which the pope had laid upon him for having given occasion to the murder of Becket! All the rest of this testament consisted in pious or charitable devises, amounting to great sums; the best directed of which were, three hundred marks of gold to provide marriage portions for poor young women of free condition in England, a hundred to the same use in Normandy, and a hundred in Anjou, with some legacies left to houses for the reception of lepers in England and Normandy. At the conclusion the king adjures his sons, on the fealty they owed to him, and on the oath they had taken, to see the whole firmly and inviolably observed, under the pain of incurring his malediction. He also laid an injunction upon all his prelates, archbishops, and bishops, in England and beyond the sea, that, conformably to the oath which they had taken to him, and their duty to him and to God, they should excommunicate all who should presume to infringe any article

ticle of his will; and notified to them (which is very remarkable) *that the pope had confirmed it under his band and seal, and had denounced an anathema against any by whom it should be obstructed or infringed.*

The donations of lands or revenues made to Prince John in the convention of the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, between the king and his sons, were not mentioned in this will, but left to stand on the sanction given to them in that act,

Soon after the breaking up of the great council assembled on the affair of the holy war, the king held another in his castle of Windsor, wherein he gave to the king of Scotland the earldom of Huntingdon, escheated to the crown by the death of Simon de Senlis, earl of Northampton, without issue. Many others laid claim to it, on different titles, and, agreeably to the scandalous practice of that age, made large offers to Henry for permission to prosecute their suit in his court: but, whether he thought that the Scotch royal family had clearly the best right, or weighed the question in the scales of policy, not of justice, he restored to William the earldom which that king and his brother David, enfeoffed in it by him, had formerly enjoyed many years, till, on account of the unjustifiable part they had taken in the young king Henry's rebellion, it was given to Simon, the late earl of Northampton, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-four. William now renewed the grant he had made before to his brother, who held it of him in fee.

In this council Prince John was knighted by his father, who sent him from thence into Ireland, to govern that isle, under him, as a feudal dominion, according to the resolution declared in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven. The jealousy of Hugh de Lacy's affecting an independent and regal power in that country, which was the cause of his being recalled into England in the year eleven

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 411, 415.

Hibernia
Expugn. l.
ii. c. 22.

Neubrigen-
fir, l. iii. c. 4.
Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 19.

eleven hundred and eighty-one, had been so far removed, that, after an absence of six or seven months, he was ordered to return, and reinstated in his post of deputy ; but Henry sent over with him a trusty ecclesiastic, named Robert de Salop, to assist him as a counsellor, and to be in reality an authorised spy on his conduct. Notwithstanding this curb, he so administered the government, that, although he served the crown well in bridling the Irish with forts, of which he built a great number, and alluring them with good usage to return to the lands which they had before deserted, the former suspicions of his ambitious designs were continually strengthened. For he drew to himself the general love of that nation, by his courtesy to the people and familiarity with their chiefs, whose pride the greater distance, at which they had been kept by most of his predecessors, had extremely offended. Nor did he fail to attach very strongly to his service the English under his banner, by large and liberal grants, giving to them even lands that belonged to the crown in several parts of the kingdom. With the Geraldine family, distinguished by their valour, and much beloved by the troops, he made a close alliance, marrying his niece to one of them, namely Meyler Fitz-Henry, whose veins were full both of Welsh and English royal blood. The strength he gained by this match enabled him to controul all the other English nobles inhabiting Ireland, and to treat them as his subjects. Indeed it appears that his talents for government were much superior to theirs, and that Henry, in committing the care of the realm to him, would have made a wise choice, if it were safe for a king to have a lieutenant very able and great, in a part of his empire remote from his own eye, and not fully reduced under the power of laws.

From the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, when the province of Cork or South Munster had been

been equally parted between Milo de Cogan and Robert Fitz-Stephen, they had quietly governed it, in good harmony with each other, and constant peace with the natives, during almost five years. Before the end of that term, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, a conference being appointed by Milo de Cogan, with some English at Waterford, upon a plain near Lismore, while he waited for them there, a band of Irish armed with axes, under a chieftain of that country, named Mac Tyre, at whose house he had been asked to lodge that night, suddenly coming behind him, murdered him and five knights who were carelessly sitting by his side on the grass. Among these was a young and valiant son of Fitz-Stephen, lately married to Cogan's daughter. The news of their death had been hardly brought to that lord, when he was himself besieged in Cork by vast multitudes of the Irish, who, under Dermot Mac Carthy, and almost all the other heads of clans in those parts, had joined Mac Tyre, whom they either had instigated to commit this murder, or desired to protect from the vengeance of the English, as soon as they heard the deed was done. But Raymond Fitz-Gerald, being apprised of the danger his uncle was in, took shipping at Wexford with twenty brave English knights, and a hundred soldiers more, partly horsemen, partly archers, and sailed along the coast to Cork, which on the side of the sea was entirely open, as the Irish had no fleet. This succour enabled Fitz-Stephen to repel the assaults of the enemy, and forced their chiefs to a peace. It does not appear that Mac Tyre was delivered up to justice, as he ought to have been; but great numbers of the Irish are said to have fallen in the several actions after Raymond's arrival; and some of them left the country, among whom it is probable this traitor might fly from the punishment

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 18.

Irish Annals,
continuation
of Tigernack,
ad ann. 1182.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 19.

punishment due to his crime, if he was not among the slain.

Hibern. Ea-
pagn. ut
supra.

When intelligence came to King Henry in England of the death of Milo de Cogan, he sent Richard, the brother of the deceased, who was an officer not inferior to him either in courage or conduct, to be joined with Fitz-Stephen (as Milo had been) in the government of Cork, and to carry over with him a band of chosen soldiers, for a present recruit to the garrison of that town. An additional force came from Wales, at the end of February, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, under the conduct of Philip Barry, a nephew of Fitz-Stephen, for the defence of the province. Thus tranquillity was restored to the English colony in South Munster.

The Irish annals inform us, that, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, a civil war breaking out between Roderick, king of Conaught, and his son Conor Manmoy, the father agreed to compose this unnatural quarrel, and restore peace to his country by retiring to a convent. This Irish monarch was most unhappy in his children. He had punished the revolt of one of his sons by putting out that prince's eyes, and was now deposed by another.

Ibidem,
c. 24.

About the beginning of September in the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, a resolution being taken, by Henry and his council, to recall Hugh de Lacy a second time into England, Philip de Worcester, a courtier much in favour with the king, and esteemed a good soldier, was sent into Ireland to govern that kingdom as deputy to Henry and his son Prince John, attended by a troop of forty knights. To this gentleman Lacy resigned the government, and together with that the custody of the capital, but found some excuse for not going to England, and retired into Meath, of which province Henry's grant had made him lord.

lord. The first act of his successor in the administration of the realm was to resume all the lands of the royal demesne which he had alienated from it and given to his friends. This being done without any opposition from him, that lord, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, went, at the head of the army of the crown, into the province of Ulster.

Donald O'Lachlyn, prince (or petty king) of ^{Irish Annals} Tyrone, having subdued a rebellion within his own district, had, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, led his forces to make war against John de Curcy, with whom he had a sharp conflict, but in the end was defeated. This battle, which was fought at Dunbo in Antrim, broke the strength of the Irish, and reduced all those parts under the power of the conqueror. But it was requisite that the natives of the whole realm of Ulster, who hitherto had not seen any general of the English except John de Curcy, should be taught by the presence of a lord lieutenant among them, at the head of a royal army, that there was in Ireland another officer, invested by king Henry and his son with a power superior to that baron's, and who was able to make himself obeyed, as well by him as by them. Philip de Worcester therefore marched into the heart of this province, and met with no resistance. At Armagh he obtained, or (as Giraldus Cambrensis says) *extorted* from the clergy, a tribute of some gold; on what pretence we know not; but that historian complains of it as *an execrable sacrilege*. Perhaps it was a fine for their having aided O'Lachlyn in the late war against Curcy, or their proportion of a general tribute demanded from all the Irish in Ulster, as an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the crown of England over them, in like manner as all the other provinces in the island were tributary to Henry by virtue of former conventions. From Armagh the lord deputy

puty went to Down-Patrick, John de Curcy's head quarters, and having settled, to his mind, the king's affairs in that country, he left it, as before, under Curcy's guard and rule, and returned to Dublin before the end of March.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 23.
Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 776. ad
ann. 1182.
Hoveden ad
eund. ann.

It has already been said that Lawrence O'Tool, archbishop of Dublin, had died in the year eleven hundred and eighty-one; to whom, on the recommendation of Henry, succeeded an Englishman, whose name was Cumin, and who had been chaplain to that prince. The election was made at Evesham in Worcestershire, by some of the clergy of the city of Dublin, deputed to chuse him.

Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 31.
Irish Annals
ad ann. 1185.
Diceto, col.
626.

The next year he received priest's orders at Velitri from Pope Lucius the Third, and was afterwards consecrated archbishop of Dublin by that pontiff at Rome. In the year eleven hundred and eighty-four the king sent him into Ireland, where he remained till John came. On the last day of March in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five that prince went from Pembroke, conducted by the grand justiciary, Glanville, to embark in Milford Haven, where a fleet of sixty ships was prepared to transport a large body of cavalry, four hundred of which were knights, and another of foot, that were archers. With this army, which, added to the English forces in Ireland, appeared more than sufficient to establish his power over all the inhabitants of that isle, he arrived at Waterford on the first of April. The archbishop of Dublin and other English lords received him at his landing. These swore fealty to him; and soon afterwards many chieftains of the Irish in those parts, who had always lived quietly under the English government from the time of their first submitting themselves to it, waited on him in Waterford, and congratulated him on his happy arrival among them, acknowledging him as their lord, and giving him what they called *the kiss of peace*. But he and the

young

young nobles who attended upon him received them with derision, and some of these were so rude as to pull them by their beards, which, according to the ancient mode of their country, different from that of the Normans and English in those days, they wore long and thick. Uncivilised nations are proud, and more patiently bear oppression from foreigners than ridicule and contempt. The Irish who thought very highly of themselves, and still more highly of their ancestors, whose customs they followed, were much enraged at this treatment. Those to whom the offence had been imprudently given, withdrew themselves and the people of their clans or septs from their places of abode, as soon as they could, and took refuge in the territory of Donald O'Brian, prince (or king) of Limerick; to whom, and to Dermot Mac Carthy, prince of Desmond, (who still retained the title of king of Cork) and to Roderick O'Conor, king of Conaught, they poured forth their complaints, with a warm indignation against John and his courtiers, representing him as a boy, surrounded by other boys, who were his only counsellors, from whom no mature counsels, no steadiness, no security to the Irish nation, could be hoped for; but worse insults, worse injuries, must be daily expected, if these were tamely endured. The three princes could not doubt, that, if those of their countrymen who had always been peaceable and loyal to the English were treated in such a manner, they, who by frequent revolts had drawn on themselves the resentment of that nation, would have greater evils to fear: for which reason, instead of going to wait on John and swearing fealty to him, as they had intended to do, they pledged their faith to each other, that, laying aside their own quarrels, they would join to assert, at the peril of their lives, the ancient liberty, rights, and honour of their country. So important to a prince

Hibern. Ex-
puzn. l. ii.
c. 35.

prince in the outset of his government, are all his words and actions, and the conduct of those who are about his person ! All that authority over the minds of the Irish, which the courtesy, gravity, and prudence of Henry, during his abode in their island, had happily gained, was lost in a few days by the petulant levity of John and his courtiers ; the good will of that people, on which Henry had desired to establish his dominion, being instantly turned into a national hatred !

Benedict.
Abb. Hoveden ad ann.
1185.

Of the events of the war which followed this league the abbot of Peterborough and Hoveden have left this short account, that John lost, in many conflicts, which he had with the Irish, almost his whole army ; the greatest part of it having forsaken his standard, and gone into the enemy's service ; which desertion was caused by his having withheld from them, and applied to other uses, the money due for their wages. But Giraldus Cambrensis, who was with him in Ireland, imputes his bad success, not to any of his English soldiers deserting to the Irish, but to his being ill advised, ill served, and ill obeyed.

Hibern. Expugn. l. ii.
c. 35.

This author says that he gave the lands of some Irish, who, from the first entrance of Fitz-Stephen and Strongbow into their country, had faithfully served the English, to some of the new comers whom he had brought over with him ; the effect of which was, that the former, by the knowledge they had gained while they lived in a familiar acquaintance with the English, became useful informers and guides to the enemy in all attempts against them : That he committed the custody of the maritime cities and castles, with the districts adjacent, and the receipt of the tributes, which should have supplied the public services, to those who threw them away in useless expences, to maintain their own riots : That the care of the government and chief commands of the army were entrusted

trusted by him to men better skilled in the arts of peace than of war, who consequently did nothing against the enemy; and that all his household troops, pursuing the example set by their leaders, passed most of their time in the towns on the sea-coast, given up to intemperance with women and wine, while the frontiers were exposed, without proper guards, to continual attacks, depredations, and burnings. The same writer adds, that the Welsh and English soldiers established in Ireland, to whose valour the conquest of that country was owing (so far as it had been conquered) were unemployed by this prince, who, from a jealousy of their chiefs, was unwilling to call them to join in any action with those he had brought over, or ever to ask their advice; which they seeing, and repining that their services should be slighted, or their fidelity doubted, retired and were silent, while the want of their aid, and the ignorance, sloth, and debauchery of those whom John employed or consulted, entirely ruined his affairs.

From the Irish Annals we learn, that, presently after the arrival of John, Roderick O'Conor, assisted by Donald O'Brian, his half-brother, and the English of Munster, came out of the monastery, into which the rebellion of his son, Conor Manmoy, had forced him to retire, and recovered his throne from that prince, with whom he made some agreement, the particulars of which are not told. But the annals say that O'Brian, in the war which succeeded to this peace, defeated the English, and that an officer much in favour with John, whom they call his foster-brother, was slain in the battle. They likewise add that John sent heavy complaints into England against Hugh de Lacy, *who could not bear to have his government of Ireland superseded by him, and used his utmost endeavours to strip him of his regal rights.* From these words we may infer that one principal cause of John's misfortunes in

H.bern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.
c. 35.
Benedict.
Abb. Hove-
den. Dicet.
ad ann.
1185.

Ireland was the discontent of this lord, who, by his extensive connexions, and the superiority of his talents, was able to obstruct all the measures of that prince, and to disgrace him in all his undertakings. Certain it is that King Henry, on the accounts he received of the state of things in that island, thought it necessary to recall his son from thence, and to give the entire administration of government, with the chief command of the forces, to the brave John de Curcy. On the seventeenth of December, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, the prince returned into England. But, before I relate the ensuing transactions in that country or in Ireland, notice must be taken of some preceding events, which, during the course of this year, had happened abroad.

B. nedict.
Abb. Hove-
den. ut
supra.

On the sixteenth of April, King Henry, accompanied by the Patriarch of Jerusalem and many English lords, passed from Dover to Witsand, and from thence into Normandy. The king, on his first arrival in that dutchy, assembled his troops with all possible expedition, in order to force his son Richard, who, while he (the king) was in England, had ravaged the territories of Geoffry in Bretagne, and still persisted in that unnatural war, to lay down his arms. What new quarrel had so soon disturbed the reconciliation between these two princes, which their father had made in the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, no account is given to us in any history of those times. All we know is, that Richard was certainly the aggressor, and had acted against his father's prohibition in thus attacking his brother. It was probably at the head of some mercenary troops (the ready instruments of all evil) that he made these incursions; but, whatever his forces were, he seemed disposed to resist his father's commands, and maintain himself in Poitou independent of that monarch, who thereupon had recourse to an
extra-

extraordinary method of reducing him to obedience. He sent him a mandate, which ordered him to give up the duchy of Aquitaine to his mother, Queen Eleanor, who then was in Normandy; and it was notified to him, that if this was not done without delay, a great army should march to put her in possession of her inheritance, and chastise his rebellion against her and his father with a rod of iron. On receiving this order, Richard, by the advice of all his friends, submitted quietly to it, and returned to his father's court in Normandy.

From this proceeding it seems, that, although Henry, by virtue of his marriage with Eleanor, was earl of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine, yet her right in that earldom and the other parts of the duchy remained entire; and he himself judged that Richard would not dispute her claim; as in fact, he did not. But how Eleanor could find means to prevail on her husband to let her make that claim, or what induced him to it, if it was his own desire, one cannot easily see. For, after what she had done, it was not prudent or safe to let her be free from all controul, and entrusted with the exercise of sovereign power over her natural subjects. Perhaps he took this method of separating from her as the gentlest he could find, permitting her to live upon her own domains, rather than where he resided, and where her eyes, which he knew to be exceedingly piercing, might too narrowly inspect every part of his conduct.

A conference was soon afterwards held on the borders of France and Normandy, between Henry and Philip, concerning the aid to be given to the Holy Land, on the pressing instances of Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, who attended them at this meeting. They both promised large supplies of money and men; but the patriarch, who de-

Hov. den. ad
ann. 1182.
Hibern. Ex-
pugn. l. ii.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden. ad
ann. 1185.

fired that one of Henry's sons (if the king himself could not go) should be instantly sent on this service, being disappointed in this, the principal object of his negotiations, departed much discontented, and about the end of June, in this year eleven hundred and eighty-five, returned to Jerusalem, which he filled with great dismay, by putting an end to the hopes, conceived before in that city, and entertained by himself, of his bringing thither a prince of the Angevin family, to take the command over all the nobility there, whose competitions with each other, from nearly equal pretensions, now weakened the whole state. Soon after his arrival, a knight templar, born in England, and named Robert de St. Alban, being afraid that the Holy Land, in its present bad condition, could not long be defended against Saladin, who was then at Damascus preparing to invade it, deserted to that prince, and having gained credit with him by openly embracing the Mahometan faith, proposed to him a project, which seemed so well contrived, and so likely to do him a most important service, that he married this apostate to a daughter of his sister, and put under his command a powerful army, two parts of which were detached, in separate bodies, to ravage several districts of the realm of Jerusalem, on each side of that city, but at some distance from it. The alarm of these attacks drawing thither the chief strength of all the Christian troops, and the capital being left insufficiently guarded, as Robert had foreseen, he led his third division, unopposed by any enemy, directly to the gates. But, while he was there expecting an answer to his summons, with much confidence that the place would be instantly yielded to him, the small garrison which was in it, and some of the bravest of the citizens, taking with them a cross, believed to be that on which our Saviour had suffered, sallied forth on a sudden,

sudden, and, by a bold, unlooked for charge, so daunted the Saracens, that they fled in great confusion. Many of them were slain in their flight by the Christians, who ascribed to the cross, which they had used as their standard, the victory they had gained. And, undoubtedly, it was helped by the enthusiastic courage, which the sight of that object and the power they imagined it would have to assist them infused into their minds. Thus Jerusalem was delivered from the danger of this treason: but the two detachments which Robert had ordered to invade other regions of Palestine, destroyed many places, particularly the towns of Jericho and Sebasté, with all the open country adjacent thereunto, and the government was informed that Saladin himself now intended to lead another army into the Holy Land. With a view to gain time for the arrival of succours from England, France, and other countries, where many barons and knights, by the exhortation of the pope and the patriarch Heraclius, had been induced to take the cross, the knights templars and hospitallers negotiated with the sultan, and purchased of him a truce till the end of Easter next ensuing, for sixty thousand besants. Soon after this convention the king of Jerusalem died, and left his crown to his nephew, the son of Sibylla, who being a child of no more than nine years old, his mother and father-in-law, Guy de Lusignan, really governed the kingdom.

On the twenty-fourth of November, in this year eleven hundred and eighty-five, died Pope Lucius the Third. His pontificate had been short, yet long enough to decree (for the better preventing the growth of heresies, which alarmed the see of Rome) that ecclesiastics convicted of holding any opinions against the faith should be deprived of their orders, and of any benefices they possessed, and be then delivered over to the secular power for condign

V. Concil.
gen. x. p.
1737.

condign punishment, if they did not make a public abjuration of their errors, without delay, before the bishop of the diocese, to which they belonged. Laymen convicted, and not abjuring their errors, were likewise to be brought before the secular judge, and punished by him. Persons only suspected, if they did not prove their innocence by a proper justification, were to undergo the same pains: but those who after abjuration, or justifying themselves, had relapsed, were to be given up, without hope of any further hearing, to the secular judge, for punishment. It appears that the punishment of hereticks at this time was burning alive: For I find in a French contemporary writer, that in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, many suffered the torment of that most dreadful death in Flanders; the archbishop of Rheims, as legate from the pope, and the earl of Flanders himself, assisting in the judgment.

Rigordus de
Gestis Ph. l.
August.
Franc. Regis
ad ann. 1185.
Duch. sue,
t. v.

Conci. Gen.
x. ut supra.

That none might escape from the flames, the council of Verona established a general inquisition, directing every bishop, by himself, his archdeacon, or other capable persons, to visit twice in a year those places in his diocese which were suspected to have any hereticks in them, and oblige two or three of the reputable inhabitants, or even the whole vicinage (if it should be thought proper) to certify upon oath, whether they knew of any such, or of any who held secret meetings, or led a different life from the generality of the catholicks. If they did, they were ordered to denounce them to the bishop, or to the archdeacon; one or other of whom was required to call before him the parties so accused. An oath was likewise to be taken, by earls, barons, governors, and magistrates of all kinds, that they would assist the church in the execution of this decree, on pain, (if they failed to do it) of losing their offices, and being incapacitated ever to hold any other. Any city, which should

should oppose or neglect to obey the said decree on the bishop's requisition, was to be deprived of all commerce with other towns and of the episcopal see. All favourers of heresy were to be noted with perpetual infamy, and deemed incapable of being advocates or witnesses in a cause, or of exercising any publick function whatsoever. To this iniquitous, cruel, and most unchristian system of persecution, the emperor was consenting; and these were the first fruits of the union lately restored, by his reconciliation with the see of Rome, between the imperial and pontifical powers!

On the tenth of March, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, the kings of England and France had an interview at Gisors, in which the affair of Richard's proposed marriage with the princess Adelaïs was resumed by her brother, who pressed the conclusion of it, and extorted from Henry, who had no excuse to make, a promise upon oath, that it should be accomplished without any further unnecessary delay. But some time was gained by the breaking out of a war, in which Richard was employed. Henry altered the whole system upon which he had proceeded the year before. Instead of keeping Richard out of Aquitaine, and leaving Eleanor there, he now sent that prince thither, with a great sum of money, and with orders to raise an army there, which he was to lead against the earl of Toulouse.

While these preparations were making, at the end of the month of April, the king went into England, and took with him his queen, whom soon afterwards he again confined in a prison, from which she was not delivered till after his death, when Richard, her son, set her free. What occasioned this change in her husband's treatment of her, the very imperfect accounts of this part of his life have given us no intimation. Probably, therefore, her offence was not of a

political

Benedict.
Abb. Hoveden, ad ann.
1186. Diceto,
col. 630.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 547.
Gervase, col.
1547.

Robert de
MonteChron
Norm. Pere
Daniel, ad
ann. 1172.

Benedict.
Abb.
Howeden, ad
ann. 1186.

political but a private nature; some secret which the writers of those times could not penetrate, or were afraid to report. Our chronicles, which have left this matter so dark, afford us no better lights concerning the nature and origin of the quarrel with the earl of Toulouse. Henry's claim to that earldom, which had caused the former war between him and the earl, had been given up, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, by an amicable agreement; the earl binding himself to hold it as a fief of the dutchy of Aquitaine, under homage and fealty, by the service of a hundred knights, and a yearly present of forty of the finest horses in the country. Perhaps he had failed to send the stipulated force, at Henry's requisition, on occasion of some of the late disturbances in Poitou, or other parts of the dutchy: but, whatever he had done to draw on himself this attack, Richard made it with such a superiority of valour and conduct, that, within a very short time, the greater part of the earldom was conquered by that prince. The earl, flying before him from one post to another, sent message after message to implore the king of France, as his sovereign and near kinsman, to give him some assistance in this extremity: but he could obtain none: from whence it may be inferred, either that Philip disapproved the grounds of the war on his side, or that powerful reasons inclined that king, at this time, to avoid any quarrel with Henry and Richard. Indeed his interfering in favour of the earl might have given Henry a pretence to break off or delay Richard's marriage with his sister, which neither her honour, nor his, could longer endure to have postponed.

While the glory of Henry's arms was sustained and encreased in Aquitaine by his son, that king was in England, attending, with his usual, unwearied application, to the various affairs of that realm.

realm. His first care was to fill the extraordinary number of episcopal sees vacant there; namely, Lincoln, Chester, Hereford, Salisbury, Exeter, Winchester, Carlisle, and York. It has been mentioned before, that, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-two, Geoffry, Henry's natural son by Rosamond Clifford, had been chosen bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards taking arms, for the defence of his father, did him eminent service against the rebel lords in the northern parts of England. But though, as a soldier, he gained a great reputation, he was very deficient in his duty as a churchman, neglecting to be consecrated, or even to take priest's orders, and yet enjoying the profits of his bishoprick, till the year eleven hundred and eighty-one, when Pope Alexander the Third sent a mandate to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, which required that prelate to compel him, by ecclesiastical censures, no longer to defer what could not without scandal be any longer dispensed with; or to renounce his election. He chose the latter, from a sense of his incapacity to sustain the episcopal charge, or from a greater inclination to the pleasures and liberty of a secular life. On his resigning his see, the office of chancellor was given to him by his father, with other revenues to the value of a thousand marks a year in Normandy and England, equivalent to an income of ten thousand pounds sterling in this country at this time. But the vacancy was not filled till the year eleven hundred and eighty-three; and in the following year the new bishop was translated to the archbishoprick of Rouen; so this see was again in the custody of the king, who enjoyed the profits of it till his return into England in this year eleven hundred and eighty-six. He now recommended Hugh, a Burgundian by birth, who was prior of a Carthusian convent at Witham in the county

*Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 354, 355
356.*

*Ibidem,
f. 400.
Diceto.*

*Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 446.*

Dugdale's
Monasticum
Carliuſienſis
Witham.

county of Somerset, to the choice of the chapter. No monks of this order had been settled in England till the year eleven hundred and eighty-one, when the king brought them over, admiring the austerity and total abstraction from the world, which distinguished theirs from all other monastical institutions, then known in the Western church. But the chapter of Lincoln, not pleased to have for their bishop a foreigner and a monk, who was likely to carry the severity of his convent into his diocese, proposed to the king his own treasurer Richard, who was also dean of Lincoln, or Godfrey de Lucy, a canon of that church, and one of Henry's chaplains, or another chaplain, named Herbert, who was a canon of Lincoln and archdeacon of Canterbury. But Henry told them, "all these were already rich enough; and, for the future, he would never bestow any bishoprick from favour, or intercession, or any other motive than sincere belief that his choice would be pleasing to God." Hereupon they consented to his recommendation, and Hugh was elected. In supplying some of the other sees he met with some difficulties not worth mentioning here. I will only take notice, that, for the archbishoprick of York, five persons, who were offered to his option by the chapter, were all refused by him; and the see continued vacant till after his death. The small bishoprick of Carlisle had been without a bishop almost twenty-nine years; and he who now was elected refused to accept it without an augmentation of its revenues, which Henry made, to the value of three hundred marks a year, by the gift of two royal manors, and some defalcations from neighbouring benefices, which had wealth to spare. William of Newbury says, that, when this prince was blamed for keeping prelaties too long vacant, and applying the revenues to secular uses, he asked, "whether it was not better

Hoveden.

Neubrigenf.
l. iii. c. 25.

“better that they should be employed to answer the necessary services of the realm, than to maintain the luxury of the prelates, who differed very much from the primitive bishops, being languid in all their spiritual duties, but ardent lovers of this world?” The same historian observes, that this plea rather served to condemn and dishonour them, than to justify Henry. A better excuse would have been the great unwillingness of the people to be burthened with new taxes in any exigence of the state, which in those times was the cause of many irregular and blameable methods to supply the publick wants.

Before I end the account of ecclesiastical matters in the course of this year, it may be worth observation, that some Spanish astrologers (instructed by the Moors in that pretended science, as well as in most of their other real knowledge) having foretold that in the month of September of the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, from the conjunction of planets in Libra, which they called a *stormy sign*, great tempests would arise in the western parts of the world, and be followed by a pestilence, with many other evils; such credit was given to this prediction in England; and such a terror caused by it, that, to avert the impending calamities, the archbishop of Canterbury ordered a general fast of three days to be observed in his province. It appears, that not only the Mahometan and the Christian princes of Spain, and the king of Sicily, Henry's son-in-law; had astrologers in their service, but the constable of Chester had one belonging to him: yet Henry himself had none; which shews that his mind resisted the contagion of this delusive folly, from which, even in times of much less ignorance and credulity, many persons of high rank, and of no mean understandings, have not been free. The Cheshire astrologer ventured to publish a prediction, very different from the former, though founded

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 414, Hoveden, pars ii.
f. 356. ad
ann. 1185.
1186.

Gervase, col.
1479.

Hoveden,
ut supra.

founded on the same conjunction of planets, in which he said, that *our climate would mitigate their malignity*, and interpreted some of the signs more favourably; while from others he foretold, not tempests or plagues, but other mischiefs which threatened the *nobles* of this land, yet which hey might avert by penitence, prayers, and amendment of their lives. This partly saved his credit; but the Spanish astrologers lost theirs; the season proving, in a more than usual degree, serene and benignant.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 438.

The decease of Gilbert, prince, or chieftain, of Galloway, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, had occasioned a bloody civil war in that country. For Duncan, Gilbert's son, being detained as a hostage to King Henry in England, pursuant to the agreement of the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, Roland nephew to Gilbert, whose father, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-five, had been murdered by Duncan, seeing now a fair occasion, not only to recover his patrimonial lands, which his uncle had seized, but to gain the whole province, got together some auxiliary or mercenary forces, and being joined by the people, from their hatred to the nobles, who had favoured his uncle, quickly subdued all that party, put to death the most powerful and wealthy among them, confiscated their estates, and built thereon many castles, to secure the dominions, his prosperous arms had acquired. This revolution laid Henry under very great difficulties, as to the part he ought to take. Roland's father, whose blood had been thus avenged by his son, was, on the side of his mother, related to that monarch; and Roland himself had undoubtedly suffered great injustice from Gilbert. Yet, Duncan having been made the hostage of a treaty between Henry and Gilbert, which the latter had not broken, it concerned Henry's honour, that, while he remained

in that state, his absence from Galloway should not prejudice any claim he could lawfully make. And Roland, by the violent methods he had taken to possess himself of that country, had acted in contempt of an absolute prohibition, signified to him, when first he took up arms, by the justiciaries of that king. These considerations having been duly weighed, he was summoned to appear, and answer to Henry in his supreme court of justice, for what he had done: but, if he would not obey, the king of Scotland was ordered, as his lord and Henry's vassal, to subdue and chastize him. Hereupon Roland levied a numerous army, and barricading all the passes that led into his country with the trunks and branches of trees cut down for that purpose, resolved to stand on his defence. Henry, informed of these proceedings, did not think it expedient, that the Scots, now his subjects, should bear alone the whole burthen and danger of this war, but called forth all his tenants by military service in the several counties of England, and marched with them to Carlisle; at which place the king of Scotland and his brother came to him, with propositions from Roland, who desired to obtain the benefit of a peace through their intercessions. Henry sent them to bring the Gallowegian chief to him: but, he refusing to come without a safe conduct, they, with Ranulph de Glanville and Hugh, bishop of Durham, were impowered to give him the securities he desired, and brought him to Carlisle. There a peace was concluded on the following conditions, that he should keep possession of that part of Galloway which his father Uchtred had held, but should stand to the judgment of the King of England's court, concerning the land which his uncle had possessed before Uchtred's death, and Duncan claimed to inherit. For the performance of this, he delivered up his three sons as hostages to Henry, and swore fealty to

to him and to the heirs of his crown, as his supreme lords, by the king of Scotland's command. That prince and his brother David took likewise an oath, that, if Roland should depart from the terms of this convention, and from his allegiance to the king of England, they would faithfully assist that monarch against him, till due satisfaction was given.

One should have thought this a sufficient guarantee; but so great was the terror of excommunication in that age, even among the most lawless and barbarous people, that the bishop of Glasgow's swearing on the relicks of saints, to excommunicate Roland, and put his territory under an interdict, if he did not keep this agreement, was judged necessary to be added to the other securities, as the strongest curb on that prince.

Thus did Henry get rid of a very troublesome war, which might have cost him the blood of many of his subjects, and from which he could not hope to draw any benefit, by a fair accommodation of the claims of those princes whose quarrels had disturbed the peace of their country; at the same time confirming to himself and his successors the sovereignty over Galloway, with the acknowledgment and concurrence of the Scottish king and nation.

Benedict.

Ann. Hoveden,

ad ann.

1185.

Diceto, col.

626.

Hibern. Ex-

pugn. l. ii.

c. 35.

Neubrigent.

i. B. c. 9.

About this time news was brought of an important event which had happened in Ireland. After the recall of Prince John, the active valour of Curcy, to whom Henry had given the government of that isle in the absence of his son, and who was fit for the office, had repelled and restrained the incursions of the Irish, but could not prevent Hugh de Lacy, whose abilities were still greater, from exercising a power independent on him, and dangerous to the crown, in many parts of the country. The Irish annals affirm, that this lord, having settled his vassals and partizans through all the

the province of Meath in its utmost extent, took the title of King of Meath and of the neighbouring territories, Breffny and Orgial, received tribute from Conaught, and extended his authority over all Ireland. William of Newbury tells us, that he seemed to aspire to make himself (not his sovereign) master of that realm; and it was reported, he had even proceeded so far, as to order a regal diadem to be prepared for his own head. Henry, alarmed at this conduct, sent him positive orders to return into England. But he still disobeyed; which verified the suspicions before conceived of him, and greatly embarrassed the king. A war which would divide the English forces in Ireland, and turn the arms of one part of them against the breasts of the other, was such an encouragement to the whole Irish nation, already ill disposed, to unite for the purpose of destroying them all, as could not with prudence be given. On the other hand, to connive at Lacy's obstinate disobedience, and let him go on to confirm and strengthen his power, in defiance of his sovereign, was what neither the policy nor the spirit of Henry could any longer endure. But from this dilemma he now was unexpectedly freed. On the twenty-fifth of July, Lacy, who, for some time, had been superintending the building of a castle on the border of Meath, went forth to take a view of some of the outworks, with only three English soldiers and an Irishman named O'Meey, whom the chieftain of Tessa, a small district in Meath, had bred up in his family, and Lacy had lately entertained in his. Conversing with this man, of whom he had no suspicion, that baron advanced about a stone's throw before his other attendants; and, as he stooped to mark the line of a fortification designed by him in that place, his companion seized the moment, and with an axe, which he drew from under his mantle, cut off his head at one stroke. The guards seeing him fall,

ran

Irish Annals, continuation of Tiger-nack. Conaught Annals. Neuburgensis, l. iii. c. 9.

ran instantly to avenge him on the murderer ; but the distance they were at, and O'Meey's natural swiftness, which much exceeded theirs, enabled him to escape into a neighbouring wood, where he easily eluded their pursuit. What provoked him to this deed we are not told : but it might be some offence which Lacy had given to the person or family of the chieftain of Tessa, from whom this assassin had received his first nurture.

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 7186.
See Dug-
dale's Baro-
nage, Laci.

Thus, fortunately for Henry, the ambitious designs of this great lord, whom the regal power in Ireland could hardly subdue, were defeated by an act of private revenge ! When the account of it was received by that king, he presently ordered John to return into Ireland, and take into his custody Lacy's castles and lands, during the nonage of Walter, the eldest son of that baron. But, before this command could be put in execution, Geoffry, duke of Bretagne, had died of a fever, on the nineteenth of August, at Paris.

Neuhrigen-
is, l. iii. c. 7.

This prince, full of spirit, and endowed with great talents, had been, for some time past, caballing with Philip, to obtain from his father, by that king's intercession, the earldom of Anjou. It was for the interest of the French monarchy, that the heir to the realm of England and all its dependencies should not inherit this country, together with the two very powerful dutchies of Aquitaine and Normandy ; and that it should, in Henry's life-time, be given to a much less formidable potentate, the duke of Bretagne : especially, as the hatred between him and his elder brother, which the interposition and authority of their father with difficulty restrained, would, after his decease, be likely to keep them in continual discord, and force the younger to lean on the French king for support. Philip therefore employed his most solicitous endeavours to serve Geoffry in this point. But Henry would not agree to such a proposition without

without the free consent of Richard, to whom the inheritance of the earldom of Anjou belonged, and who vehemently opposed the alienation of it, as dividing a succession which unquestionably the greatness of the house of Plantagenet required to be preserved entire. Geoffry, thus disappointed of what he ardently coveted, and almost equally angry with his father and brother, resolved to throw himself into the arms of Philip; and, using the pretence of a tournament held at Paris, concerted with that king the measures to be taken for extorting by force the boon he could not gain. It is said, he proposed the invading of Normandy: but, whatever were his designs, (which the history of those times has not well explained) the hand of Providence crushed them in the bud. Some contemporary authors only mention a fever as the cause of his death: but others tell us, that he and his horse were thrown down in the tournament above-mentioned, by the shock of the lances of the opposite body of knights, and trampled upon by their horses; after which, through the care that was employed to heal him, he seemed well recovered; but, while he was plotting with Philip, he was seized with a violent pain in his bowels, supposed to be the effect of some internal bruises; and a fever came on, which put an end to his life.

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1186.

The character of this prince, in other respects much the same, was distinguished from that of his two elder brothers by a greater degree of cunning. In the warmth of youth he dissembled, he plotted, he deceived, like a veteran politician. He had an eloquent tongue, but it hardly ever spoke the real sense of his heart. No fits of remorse, no return to any sentiments of filial duty or love, ever checked his ambition in the pursuit of its objects. His father's goodness in pardoning his former rebellions raised no gratitude in him. Not even on his death-bed did he express any sorrow for his last

Gul. Armo-
ricus de
Celt. Phil.
August. ad
ann. 1186.

intended treason. His father, therefore, who was not uninformed of his guilt, shewed little concern for the loss of him. But Philip, whose affections he had artfully won, and whose policy would have found its account in his crimes, greatly lamented his death; and not only took care that his body should be buried, with extraordinary honours and pomp, in St. Mary's church at Paris, but founded, at his own cost, a perpetual provision for the maintenance of four priests, to put up prayers for his soul. It was the custom of this monarch to unite acts of piety and superstitious devotion with political measures, which were far more agreeable to reasons of state than to the moral laws of God!

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 447, 448,
452. ad
ann. 1186.

Soon after this event, Henry gave to the king of Scotland his kinswoman Ermengarde, the daughter of Richard, viscount of Beaumont, whose mother Constantia was an illegitimate child of King Henry the First. This match, though less honourable than that before proposed with the duke of Saxony's daughter, was made with the approbation of the barons of Scotland, for the sake of the alliance with the English royal family, desired by both nations. The ceremony was performed on the fifth of September, in Henry's palace at Woodstock, by the ministry of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the father and mother of Ermengarde, of the King of England, of David, the King of Scotland's brother, and of many other nobles belonging to both realms, before whom the royal bridegroom gave the castle of Edinburgh, which Henry had restored to him for that purpose, in dower to his bride, besides forty knights fees, and a revenue of one hundred marks a year. The dower was small for a queen; but the king of Scots was not rich, and probably her portion was not great. Henry, having joined their hands, left his palace to them, and went to another house; but entertained them four

four days, and together with them all the nobles attending on the nuptials, in a magnificent manner, at his own expence.

The princess of Saxony, whom the king of Scotland would have married, if he could have obtained the pope's leave, lost this year another crown, offered to her by Bela, king of Hungary. While the ambassadors of that prince were waiting for an answer in the court of her grandfather, who delayed it some time, he, thinking himself slighted, sent others into France, to ask in marriage Philip's sister, the widow of young Henry; which proposal being instantly accepted by Philip, an end was put to the treaty commenced with the English monarch for his grand-daughter Matilda. Perhaps the delay on his part, which deprived her of a match so desirable for her, may have been caused by his staying, and not without her consent, till the king of Scotland, by agreeing to marry another, should have freed her and him from any possible imputation of violating the engagements they had taken with him: a very proper and commendable delicacy of honour! The princess remained single till after Henry's death, and then married a husband of much inferior rank, the count of Perche.

In the conference held at Gisors, on the tenth of March this year, some discontent which had festered in the mind of the king of France concerning his sister Margaret's dower, which the king of England was to pay, had been removed. That queen had complained, (as it seems not unjustly) of its being too small; and we find by a letter from Pope Lucius the Third, written in the year eleven hundred and eighty-four, that he was of her opinion: for he there exhorts Henry, and even enjoins him, *for the remission of his sins*, to make some addition to it; which was probably done in this meeting; as we are told the dispute

was amicably concluded : but what Henry gave is not mentioned. He would hardly have delayed so long to comply with such an admonition, or have ever put that princess under the necessity of having recourse to it, if he had not been greatly dissatisfied with her conduct while she lived with his son. Perhaps he knew, she had done him ill offices with her brother, or suspected that her influence over her husband had been used to seduce him from his filial duty, in the latter part of his life.

Prince John is not mentioned among those who were present at the king of Scotland's marriage ; but probably he was there ; for his father, on the news of his brother Geoffry's decease, had stoppt him from going, as he was ready then to do, with the first fair wind, into Ireland. Why that event made a change in Henry's intentions, with relation to that kingdom, no reason is given. It has been said before, that, when he first conceived the idea of granting it to that prince, he obtained the consent of Pope Alexander the Third to infeoff him in it, or any other of his sons, at his own choice. Hoveden says, that, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-seven, by the *concession* and *confirmation* of that Pontiff, he (Henry) constituted John *King of Ireland*, in the general council at Oxford. But it appears from records, that John only took the title of *Lord* of that island, (*dominus Hiberniæ*.) Nor did his father himself, though he exercised all the plenitude of royal power there, assume any other ; because he had not been crowned. Yet it appears, that, before John went into Ireland, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, Henry had asked the agreement of Pope Lucius the Third to John's being crowned ; which that Pontiff refused. We are not told on what reason this refusal was grounded ; but Urban the Third, soon after his election, granted to Henry a bull, which impow-

See book iv.
and Bened.
dict. Abb.
t. i. f. 204.
Hoveden,
f. 323. Dist.
27, 30. ad
ann. 1177.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 433.
Hoveden,
f. 359. Dist.
42, 50.

empowered him to cause any one of his sons, whom he should chuse, to be crowned king of Ireland; and sent him, as a mark of his (the pope's) consent and confirmation, a crown of peacocks feathers interwoven with gold.

It is worthy of notice, that, although there appears to have been no variation in Henry's desire of conferring on John the government of that kingdom, preferably to either of his two other sons, yet he was solicitous that the choice should be left entirely free to him; in order, I presume, to make it more apparent that the gift was from him, not a favour conferred on any one of the three by the special grace of the court of Rome: but, this option being gained, he named John to the pope, and applied for a legate, to assist at the ceremony of that prince's coronation. On the twenty-sixth of December in this year eleven hundred and eighty-six, Cardinal Octavian, deputed from Urban the Third for this purpose, arrived in England, and with him one of Henry's own chaplains, who having gone to negotiate this affair with that pontiff, was joined in commission as legate *a latere*, with the Roman prelate; a compliment paid to his master, which shewed a very favourable disposition in Urban. But Henry's mind was now changed. Probably it occurred to him, that, as he himself had not been crowned in Ireland, the giving his son that mark of sovereign power, and the title of king, might prejudice his own right to supreme dominion there, in the thoughts of the Irish. This objection was indeed so obvious and so great, that one can hardly conceive how it ever should have been overlooked by his prudence! But he also laid aside, for other reasons unknown, his intention to send John, at this time, into Ireland; nor did he resume it while he lived, though this prince still retained the feudal grant of the kingdom, made to him, in the year
eleven

Benedict.
Abb. Hoveden, ad ann.
1187.

Neubrigenf.
i. iii. c. 9.

Benedict.
Abb. ad ang.
1186.

eleven hundred and seventy-seven, with the advice and consent of parliament, according to the terms on which it then was given. William of Newbury says, that, after Lacy's death, Henry managed more cautiously his affairs in Ireland; but under what order and regulations he put them we are not well informed. We only know, that the chief administration of government was entrusted to Curcy. If the king's affairs would have suffered him to go over to Ireland and be crowned there himself, that country would undoubtedly have been brought into a better political state, than under any viceroy; but, though the late machinations between Geoffry and Philip had produced no effects, yet the death of the former gave the latter a pretence to quarrel with Henry, by demanding the custody of the heiress of Bretagne, Geoffry's daughter, whom her father had left an infant, and of the duchy itself till the princess should be of a proper age to marry. These claims, if Bretagne had been held of the crown of France without any middle tenure, would have certainly been well founded: but, as it was a fief of Normandy, the right of Henry, as duke of Normandy, to the custody of it, and of the person of the heiress before she was marriageable, could hardly be disputed. It is true indeed, that the Bretons had been always desirous to have their duke not acknowledge any other feudal lord in the kingdom of France than the king; and it may be suspected (though I do not find it said by the writers of those times) that Geoffry had agreed, in his late cabals with Philip, to hold his duchy immediately of him and his successors: but such a convention could give no right to that king, being contrary to the known and established superiority of the dukes of Normandy in Bretagne. Henry therefore sent to Philip his grand justiciary, Glanville, the archbishop of Rouen, and William
de

de Mandeville earl of Albemarle, who obtained from him a truce till the feast of St. Hilary next ensuing. A private broil which happened between the governors of Gisors and of a neighbouring fort on the territory of Philip, disturbed the negotiations which Henry was carrying on for a more settled peace, but did not produce an actual war. Nevertheless, all the symptoms of Philip's dispositions appeared so unfavourable, that Henry, expecting an attack from that monarch on his territories in France, as soon as the winter should be past, was very anxious to establish tranquillity in South Wales, the disorders of which still continued.

In the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, the Welsh, after Henry's departure out of England, had made great ravages in Glamorganshire, and fired the town of Cardiff; but, attempting to besiege the castle of Neth, had been beaten by an army which came from England against them, to the relief of the fortress. They had moreover received another defeat, the next year, from the English of the counties of Chester and Hereford; which having humbled their pride, Henry thought it a good time to offer them peace, and sent his grand justiciary, Ranulph de Glanville, who had lately returned from France, to treat with Rhees ap Gryffyth and the other chiefs of South-Wales, not only for the purpose of finishing the war, and bringing back the rebels to their fealty; but likewise for that of procuring immediately a body of their foot, to serve him against Philip. This Glanville obtained, to the great satisfaction of Henry, who remembered how useful his Welsh soldiers had been in constraining the French and Flemish armies to raise the siege of Rouen. Indeed better light infantry was not then in all Europe. And the nation was so inclined to war, that the best way of preventing them from annoying the English, was to employ

Ann. de
Morgan, ad
ann. 1185.

Benelict.
Abb. ad ann.
1186.

employ them in their service against foreigners. It was, in truth, the only security for their allegiance. They were faithful, in proportion as they saw themselves trusted; and this compliment paid by their sovereign to their valour pleased them more than any favours he could otherwise grant.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 454.

At the Christmas festival of this year eleven hundred and eighty-six, which was solemnized at Bedford, the earl of Leicester is mentioned as one of the nobles who served at the king's table. He was therefore now freed from that imprisonment, which had been brought upon him and several other great lords by the jealousy of the government in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three. They were, probably, all discharged soon after the death of the young king, with whom, just before, they had been suspected of plotting some new treasons, perhaps on no other grounds than their having been the advisers of his former rebellion; for it does not appear that any of them were punished, or even brought to trial.

Benedict.
Abb. Flove-
den. Diocet.
Neuorigensis
ad ann. 1186.

During the course of the above-related events in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, the infant king of Jerusalem, who had succeeded to Baldwin surnamed the Leper, and was the Fifth of that name, died after a reign of no more than seven months. The arts of his mother Sibylla, who gained to her party the patriarch Heraclius and the knights of the temple and the hospital, prevailed to place in the vacant throne Guy de Lusignan, her husband, against the minds of the people, of most of the soldiery, and of many of the nobles, who thought the earl of Tripoly abler to defend, and therefore fitter to govern the kingdom of Jerusalem, which was likely to suffer, not only from the loss of his superior talents in the cabinet and the field, but also from his resentment at being thus deprived, by a crafty woman's intrigues, of all power in the state. Soon after this election, the

the truce made with Saladin in the preceding year to the end of Easter in this, was renewed for three years more ; that sultan, who wanted time to settle some matters in the administration of Egypt, desiring this prolongation ; and Guy, to whom the delay was very advantageous for the establishment of his power, gladly embracing the offer. It was but newly concluded, when a multitude of crusaders from England and France arrived at Jerusalem : many of whom, when they heard that there would be no opportunity of employing their valour in the defence of the Holy Land for so long a term, returned home : yet some stayed, in which number two of the greatest English lords, Roger de Mowbray and Hugh de Beauchamp, are particularly mentioned.

Cardinal Octavian and Hugh de Nonant, whom the pope had commissioned, as his legates *à latere*, to crown Prince John king of Ireland, had also a power to hear and determine all appeals made to Rome by the English or Irish, in ecclesiastical causes : for which purpose, though Henry had laid aside the design of giving his son the regal dignity, or sending him now into Ireland, they stayed in England, and performed, with great pomp and ostentation, that part of their office. This was very disagreeable to the archbishop of Canterbury, who, as ordinary legate from the see of Rome in this kingdom, saw his authority superseded by theirs, and his lustre, as primate, much impaired by their presence. He therefore, and with him all his suffragan bishops, remonstrated to the king, that their longer stay in the realm would only turn to the dishonour and damage thereof ; and advised him to carry them into Normandy, where they might be employed more usefully for his service, in mediating a peace between him and Philip. To this counsel he agreed, and accordingly took them with him, at the same time transporting a considerable

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1187.

siderable army of English and Welsh soldiers; to add force to persuasion. On the twentieth of February, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven, he landed at Witsand; where the earls of Flanders and Blois, with many other French nobles, received him on the shore with great honours, and conducted him to the borders of the dutchy of Normandy: but, whilst he was on his journey, no small number of his household, attempting to pass the Sea between Shoreham and Dieppe, were caught in a tempest and drowned; with whom perished also a large part of the wealth of Aaron the Jew of Lincoln, one of the richest in England, which on his death the king inherited, by the iniquitous law or custom of those times.

When that prince arrived at Albemarle, his son Richard duke of Aquitaine, and John, whom he had sent over a little before him, came, with the principal Norman lords, to wait on him there, and to consult on the measures it would be proper to take, if a war with France should break out. In the months of March and of April he and Philip had two conferences, for the settling of the points contested between them.

Benedict.
Abb. Hoveden ad ann.
1187.

Gervase,
Chron. col.
1486.

The abbot of Peterborough and Roger de Hoveden say, that they parted without a hope of peace, *by reason of the intolerable demands of Philip*. What these were they do not tell us; but from Gervase of Canterbury we learn, that he demanded back his sister, who, having been many years accorded to Richard, was not yet married to him, *but was kept like a captive, under strict custody, by King Henry, in England*. He also required that the portion which his father had given to his other sister, Margaret, at the time of her marriage with the eldest son of that king, namely, Gisors and its territory, should be restored to him.

As to the last of these demands, it must be observed, that in the conference at Gisors, on the tenth of March in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, where Henry had taken an oath, that Adelais, the younger sister of Philip, should be married to Richard with all convenient speed, Philip also had covenanted, in consideration of this match, to give up, for himself and heirs, all claim to Gisors, on the restitution of which he had strenuously insisted in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three. But since this agreement more than twelve months had past, and Adelais remained, in Henry's custody, still unmarried. The quarrel and war between Richard and the earl of Toulouse, which had been an excuse for some delay, no longer continued; the latter having (as it seems) submitted to the former, before the end of autumn in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six. Certain it is, that, this year, all was quiet in Aquitaine, and Richard at liberty to fulfil the engagement which he and his father had taken. Philip therefore had great cause for impatience and resentment at its not being fulfilled.

If Henry (as some modern historians have supposed) was afraid of contracting another alliance with the French royal family, from the experience he had of the bad effects of that which his eldest son had made, he should not have sworn to let this be accomplished, but should have restored the princess to her brother, whether he did, or did not, admit the pretensions of that king to Gisors. For, he could have no right to detain her in his custody one single day, after he had resolved to break the match, on account of which she had been, so many years before, entrusted to his care. The desire he had shewn of marrying her to John, instead of Richard, had been dropt in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, and could not now be resumed consistently with the oath taken by

*Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 444.
Dicto, col.
630.*

*See Carte
and others.*

by him in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six. Nor is it said by any one contemporary writer, that he made mention of it in the conferences now held with the king of France on this subject. It was, therefore, extremely difficult to justify or excuse his not doing one of these two things, either marrying Adelaïs, without delay, to Richard, or sending her back to her brother. When wise men act unwisely, the cause must be usually sought for in their passions. I therefore cannot doubt, that the real motive of his otherwise unaccountable conduct was a passionate love for this princess. It has been mentioned before what reason there is to believe, that he had sought a divorce from Eleanor his wife, by the authority of Pope Alexander the Third, which would, if obtained, have enabled him to wed Adelaïs himself: but, even when this had been refused, he might flatter himself that some of Alexander's successors would be more complaisant; or that Eleanor, who was old, might die before him, and leave him free to make this lady his queen. Love too easily hopes what it ardently wishes; and the supposing him under the tyranny of that passion, which is commonly attended with a greater degree of dotage in elderly men than in young, unravels the whole mystery of his present and subsequent proceedings. For it was natural, if he loved Adelaïs, that he should rather incline to risk a war (however dangerous it might be) than to think of parting with her, and delivering her to her brother, who might presently marry her to another prince. Accordingly he had now recourse to arms, colouring the quarrel with anger at the demand of Gisors, which place he maintained to be his, independantly of the match between Richard and this princess, by virtue of former rights; and complaining of Philip for claiming a portion
of

of the dutchy of Bretagne as a domain of his crown; which is mentioned by Gervase as one of the points on which that king had insisted.

Gervase,
Chron. cel.
1480, 1481.

As for Richard, I do not find that he ever had pressed the conclusion of the marriage designed for him with this princess. There is some reason to think, that he now was in love with Berengaria the daughter of the king of Navarre, whom he afterward married: but, as it does not appear that he thought of marrying that lady, so long as his father lived, though, probably, the consent of that king to the match would have been willingly granted, I rather ascribe his not hastening the union proposed with the king of France's sister to a habit of indulging himself in loose pleasures, and a disinclination to wedlock. Nor yet did he chuse that Adelaïs should now be sent back to her brother; as he knew that the investiture of the dutchy of Aquitaine had been given to him by her father on the prospect of his becoming her husband. Nor could he like that Bretagne, or any portion thereof, should be free from its dependance on the dutchy of Normandy, which he was to inherit; or that Gisors, by which that dutchy was defended on the side of the French Vexin, should be separated from it and yielded to Philip. The French historians, who wrote in those times, affirm, that Philip required homage for the dutchy of Aquitaine to be done to him by this prince, who, under his father's directions, refused to pay it; and that this was given out as one cause of the quarrel between the two monarchs. It must be observed hereupon, that Henry had done homage for these dominions to Philip as his immediate vassal; and it now began to be thought a principle of the feudal law in France, that sub-vassals were not to do homage for their fiefs to the lord paramount, but only to him of whom they immediately held them. And Henry had special reasons

Guchelm.
Armoricus.
Rigordus de
Gestis Phil.
August.

V. Duchesne, Dis-
sert. & Abre-
gé Chronol.
de l'Histoire
de France,
p. 236.

to be jealous of Richard's connecting himself with Philip by an act of this nature, with respect to these dominions, lest he should think that he held them as a tenant in chief of the French crown, independently of his father's superiority in them. But, whether this question was agitated now, or some time afterwards, (as the English historians suppose) I think may be doubted. It is certain that Richard was satisfied at this time with the power given to him in the dutchy of Aquitaine from and under his father, and cordially joined to assist that king in the war with which he was threatened.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.
ad ann. 1187.

Great forces were levied on both sides. About Whitsuntide Henry, having assembled his army, divided it into four parts; one of which he put under the conduct of Geoffry, his and Rosamond's son, who had been formerly bishop elect of Lincoln, and now was his chancellor, but who had shewn by his actions, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, that nature had eminently given him those talents, which best qualify a man for a military command. At the head of another body was William de Mandeville earl of Essex and Albemarle, who since the decease of the earl of Arundel had more of the king's trust in all his arduous affairs, either of peace or of war, than any other baron. The two other divisions were ranged under the banners of Richard, duke of Aquitaine, and his brother, Prince John, who had lately received, from the bounty of his father, the earldom of Mortagne. To these several chiefs Henry assigned the defence of four different quarters of his territories in France, giving them money and all they wanted for that service. But this disposition was soon changed. For, Philip leading all his forces to besiege Chateauroux, the principal fortress in Berry, Richard and John, who commanded in the countries nearest to it, threw themselves

themselves into that place, and were besieged there some time : but, Henry advancing with all the rest of his troops to succour these princes, the king of France raised the siege, and, they joining their father, both armies now prepared, with great ardour, for a battle. William of Newbury says, that, each nation being emulous for the glory of its king, they appeared no less animated the one against the other, than if every man amongst them had come to maintain his own interest, his own honour; or to revenge his own wrongs. But, just in the moment when they were eagerly waiting for the signal to fight, the two legates of the pope, advancing between their foremost lines, denounced against the two kings, in the name of his Holiness, the terrible sentence of excommunication, if they did not make peace; and extended it to all those, who should, on either side, do any hostile act. This stopped, like a charm, the fury of both armies: their swords were instantly sheathed; and, through the mediation of all the prelates and nobles who were in the two camps, a truce for two years was concluded; the matters in controversy being (as the French historians say) referred to the judgment of the king of France's court: but the English only tell us, that, during the term above-mentioned, the baron de Fretteval, whose service in Aquitaine Henry had claimed hitherto, was to pay it to Philip; and the town of Mfodun, which the latter had taken in the war, before he laid siege to Chateauroux, was to remain in his hands. The truth seems to be, that all claims on either side were suspended for two years, with a small advantage to Philip, as Henry's sovereign in France. But the former quickly made a greater acquisition: he gained the heart of Richard! This prince, going to him upon the conclusion of the truce, was so caressed by him, and so won by his kindness, that,

without

Neubrigen.
l. ii. c. 12.

Gal. Armor.
& Rigord.
ut supra.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1187.

without Henry's leave, or even returning to ask it, he attended him from his camp in Berry to Paris. Their intimacy was such, that, while they were on their journey, they constantly eat together at the same table, and slept every night in the same bed.

V. authores
citatos ut
supra.

Henry heard, with no less anxiety than surprise, of this sudden, excessive friendship. Nor was his jealousy groundless. The artful character of Philip gave that king great advantages over the open sincerity and impetuous temper of Richard. What designs the former put, during this familiarity, into the head of the latter, we are not well informed: but the effect of their conversation was, that Richard, who had received repeated messages from his father, desiring him to return, and assuring him of a ready compliance with all he could reasonably ask, promised indeed to obey, and left the French court, but, going to Chinon in Touraine, seized a treasure which Henry had deposited in that castle, and passing from thence into Poitou used the money to fortify his castles in that province, and seemed resolved to stay there. A negociation ensued, of which we know nothing more than that it proved so successful as to bring him back to his father, and that, being at Angers, he took a new oath of allegiance to that king, and likewise swore, in the presence of a great assembly of people, that he would, for the future, be guided by his counsels. After this reconciliation, Henry, freed from the uneasiness which had for some time employed his thoughts, went into Bretagne and retook a castle there, which, on Geoffry's decease, one of the lords of that country had got possession of, by the treachery of the governor.

Diceto,
ad ann. 1187.

On the twenty-ninth of March, in this year eleven hundred and eighty seven, Constantia, the dowager dutchess of Bretagne, had been safely delivered

slivered of a posthumous son, heir apparent to
 the dutchy. King Henry had directed, that his
 name should be given to this infant, his grand-
 son; but the Bretons, who were present at the
 ceremony of the baptism, demanded, with a loud
 and general acclamation, that he should be named
 Arthur: so fondly did they believe the fabulous
 stories about the British Arthur; and so agreeably
 did they flatter themselves with the thought, that
 this child, who, by his mother, was the last male
 descendant of the Armoric princes, would, toge-
 ther with the name, inherit the valour of that sup-
 posed hero of their ancient country, Cornwall.
 Their desire was gratified, and Henry consented
 that Constantia should be made sole guardian to
 her son, but under an obligation of advising with
 him in the affairs of the dutchy. From hence it
 appears, that the Bretons now acknowledged his
 right of dominion over their state, as duke of
 Normandy, although his son, their late duke, had
 been encouraged by them to shake it off; and
 that no regard was paid to the king of France's
 pretensions, of which an account has been given.
 But, before the end of this year, Henry settled
 more firmly his power in that country, by be-
 trothing Constantia to Ranulph earl of Chester,
 whose father had died in the year eleven hundred
 and eighty-one. This marriage, which was not
 disagreeable to the Bretons, (who thought the earl
 their countryman, as both he and his father were
 born in Wales,) was consummated the next year;
 and Henry added to Bretagne, of which Ranulph
 took the government in right of his wife, the
 great earldom of Richmond, usually annexed to
 that dutchy. It was generous in the king to
 make this match, or give his consent to it, in fa-
 vour of a man, whose father had so criminally re-
 volted against him: but he had pardoned that
 guilt, and would not permit any memory of it to

Neubrigen-
sis, l. iii. c. 7.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden,
ad ann. 1187.

Dugdale's
Baronagi-
um, earl of
Chester.

hurt the unoffending son. On the contrary, he desired to confirm this young lord and all his great relations in loyal affection to him, by such benefits as the family had never yet received from any of his predecessors.

Rigordus
d. Gestis
Philippi
Augusti, ad
ann. 1187.

If the Bretons were rejoiced at the birth of a prince to inherit their duchy, the people of France were still more so, at their queen's having brought forth, on the fifth of September this year, an heir to that kingdom. The Parisians, in whose city this son of Philip was born, celebrated his birth with such joy, that, for seven successive nights, they sung hymns, and danced, by torch-light, in the streets: a remarkable instance of the natural gaiety of their temper and affection for their kings! Indeed they had then a more than ordinary cause for immoderate gladness; since, if Philip had died without a son, disputes might have arisen about the succession, which would have endangered the kingdom. But Henry, who had hoped great benefit from that chance, little thought that this prince would in process of time be invited by the barons of England to take that crown from his son John, who had submitted to hold it in vassalage of the pope!

Vit. et Res
Gest. Sultani
Alm. Alm.
Saladini,
auctore Bo-
hadino F.
Sjeddadi,
c. viii. p. 27.
70. Abulfe-
d: i 25, 26.
Ricardi Re-
gis Iter Hier-
osol. Auc-
tore Galfrido
de Vinifauf.
c. v.

The rejoicings in France were changed, by news from the Holy Land, into a general mourning, which extended itself all over Christendom. The truce renewed with Saladin by the king of Jerusalem, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, for three years to come, had been infamously broken, before the end of that year, by Arnaud, or (as some call him) Renaud de Chatillon. This lord, who had married Constantia, the widow of Raymond, prince of Antioch, and had, for some time, administered the government of that principality, during the nonage of her son, was now præfect of the frontiers of the kingdom of Jerusalem on the side of Arabia Petræa, where he held

held two strong castles, which the steepness of the rocks on which they were built made impregnable by assault, or by any means except famine. A Mahometan caravan from Ægypt to Damascus passing near to these places in confidence of the truce, he could not resist the temptation of plundering the merchants, and seizing their persons, in order to put them to ransom. The captives complaining to him of this violation of public faith, and upbraiding him with it, he threw them into close dungeons, and insultingly said, that their prophet, if he could, might set them free. Saladin, who was in truth, and affected to appear, a most zealous Musulman, so resented this usage of his innocent subjects, and the contumely thrown upon his religion, that he solemnly vowed, if ever this offender should be in his power he would put him to death with his own hand! Nor was his anger confined to him alone: for he considered the truce with the king of Jerusalem as broken by this act of hostile violence, committed openly by a vassal whom his sovereign had not punished, nor delivered up to him; and therefore he resolved to make himself full amends by the conquest of Palestine, which he had wished to attempt for some time past, but had been diverted from it by other occupations, or accidents intervening. The winter, indeed, and the want of some necessary preparations, obliged him to defer it till the following year, eleven hundred and eighty-seven, when his first operation was to guard from all danger the pilgrims returning from Mecca to Damascus, by posting himself between them and Chatillon's two castles; while other bodies of his troops made incursions into Palestine and laid all waste. Against one of these, consisting of no fewer than seven thousand Turks, five hundred knights of the temple and hospital of Jerusalem, with some infantry drawn from the circumjacent districts, ventured

Vita Saladin
ut supra p.
66, 67. Galf.
de Vini Guf.
l. i. c. 2.
Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
p. 471, 472.

to come to an action, on the first day of May, in the forest of Safford, where the grand master of the hospital, with some of his brethren, and sixty templars were slain.

Saladin having performed his pious intention of securing the pilgrims, and having received large supplies from Ægypt, Mosul, Aleppo, and Mesopotamia, advanced into Galilee, and encamping his army near the lake of Genezareth, at the foot of the hilly country, intended there to give battle to the king of Jerusalem; who he believed would come thither, in order to oppose his further advances towards the capital. But that prince was desirous, and not without reason, to avoid an engagement, and protract the war by defending his fortified places. To force him from this resolution, the sultan left the main body of his army encamped in its former situation, and putting himself at the head of a chosen detachment, stormed and took, sword in hand, the city of Tiberias; after which he laid siege to the castle, or citadel, where the countess of Tripoli, who was by inheritance princess of Galilee, had shut herself up, with a few knights. Her husband, who, enraged at Lusignan's having gained the crown of Jerusalem in preference to him, had, soon after that event, made a treaty with Saladin, by which he agreed to hold his dominions in a kind of vassalage to that prince, had been drawn from this compact by the prayers and reproaches of the patriarch of Jerusalem and others of the clergy, who, when the war first broke out, implored him to sacrifice his private resentment to the common cause of religion, and join his arms to the king's. He did so, and, assisted by the sympathy of Sibylla for the danger and distress of the countess of Tripoli, determined Lusignan, against his own inclinations, to attempt the relief of the castle of Tiberias. For this purpose all his forces, even many

Abulfida,
c. 26.

Neubrigenf.
l. iii. c. 16.
Benedict.
Alh.
Hoveden.
Geivale.
Dietu, ed
ann 1187.

many that were necessary for the defence of the towns and forts of his kingdom, being ordered to attend him, they were led by the earl to a hill, adjacent to Tiberias, on the western side of that city, and posted at the opening of a narrow pass, or defile. In a letter written to King Henry, not long after this time, by the patriarch of Antioch, they are said to have been twelve hundred horse and thirty thousand foot. In another letter from the Genoese in the Holy Land to the pope, Saladin's forces are reckoned to have exceeded four-score thousand. On the fourth of July, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven, a battle was fought, of which the most circumstantial and authentic relation is given us by one of the ministers of the sultan, who attended him in this war, and has written a history of his life and acts. He says, that this prince, being informed of the king of Jerusalem's motions, left only a force sufficient to blockade the castle of Tiberias, and with the rest of his troops hastened back to his camp. That the two armies were ranged in sight of each other near a village called Allubia, a little before night, the approach of which stopped them from coming to action. That, the next morning, they fought, with great fury on both sides, and the battle lasted all day: but, Saladin's archers continually infesting the Christians with showers of arrows, and selected bands of his troops successively making very sharp attacks upon them, they were slaughtered in their post like flocks of sheep in a fold, and evidently saw they must perish; their fate being deferred, only till the next morning, by the darkness coming on. That both armies passed the night in arms, though wearied so much with the toils of the preceding day as hardly to be able to raise themselves from the ground on which they reposed. That, when the first dawn of light appeared, Saladin ordered his centre, which

*Calif. de
Vinitauf,
l. i. c. 5.*

*Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
p. 504.*

*Ibidem,
p. 473.*

*Ibidem,
f. 504.*

*Salad. vit.
c. 35.*

which extended as far as the whole line of the Christians, to charge them in front, whilst his wings, which were stretched far beyond them on each side, attacked their flanks. That this was executed with a universal shout, which they all set up as one man, according to his command, and struck thereby such a terror into the hearts of the Christians, as deprived them of their last remains of strength. That the earl of Tripoli, who till now had been the most courageous and the fiercest among them, seeing the marks of a beginning rout, and forgetting the fair fame of all his former deeds, took no care to form, or to encourage, the troops, by putting himself at their head; but, before the defeat became total, accompanied by a few of his own peculiar vassals, fled out of the fight towards Tyre. That, some of Saladin's horsemen being ordered to pursue him, they massacred all his attendants; he alone escaping from them. That the other Christians, inclosed, like beasts in toils, were overwhelmed with the arrows of the Mahometans, or cut to pieces by their swords; from which slaughter some flying, they were so closely pursued that not a man was saved: but one part of them retiring to a neighbouring hill, Saladin ordered the woods, which surrounded them, to be fired, and thus forced them, almost dead with extreme heat and thirst, to yield themselves captives. That among these was the king, the masters of the Temple and the Hospital, and Arnaud de Chatillon."

Penedict.

Abb. t. ii.

f. 475, 476.

styles himself *great preceptor of the Temple at Jerusalem*, to all the knights of his order dispersed

over

over Europe, in which, together with that earl, he mentions *himself*, and the prince of Sidon, and another man of quality, whom he names, as having escaped from this field. Of the action he says only, "that the enemy having driven them into a very bad place, among rocks, assaulted them there with such fury, that, the king and the holy cross being taken, a multitude of them were slain, and, particularly, a hundred and thirty knights templars." The cross mentioned in this letter was supposed to be that on which our Saviour had suffered. The bishop of Ptolemais had carried it in the battle, as the standard under which the Christians fought, till, having received a mortal wound, he delivered it to the hand of another dignified churchman, who attended him for that purpose, and with whom it was taken at the same time as the king. Robert de Mowbray and a lord of the noble house of March were made prisoners in this action, and Hugh de Beauchamp was killed. William of Newbury says, that all the knights of the Temple and Hospital, who did not fall in the field, were separated from the other captives by the orders of Saladin, and beheaded in his sight; which cruelty in him was caused (as other writers inform us) by the custom of those knights to put all the Mahometans whom they took to the sword. However this may have been, the fact is confirmed by the history before-cited of that prince's life, which gives this further account of what was done by him after his victory. "The sultan, joyful and exulting on this extraordinary mark of the favour of God, commanded that King Guy, and Arnaud de Chatillon, should be brought to his tent. There he gave to the king, who was ready to die with thirst, a bowl of sherbet cooled with snow, which that prince, having drunk as much as he would thereof, delivered to Chatillon. Saladin, turning, hereupon,

Galf. de Vini-
auf, l. i.
c. 5.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 487, 488.

Neubrigen-
sis, l. iii. c. 6.

Salad. vii.
c. 35. p. 70.
71.
Ibidem, c. 8.
p. 27, 28.

to

to his interpreter, said, *Tell the king, that it is not I, but he, who has given drink to this man.* The meaning of which words the historian thus explains, that, according to the custom of the Arabians, arising from their sacred regard to hospitality, and their generous sentiments of virtue and honour, when any captive has received from the person who took him either meat or drink he is thereby assured of life. The sultan, having so spoken, dismissed the prisoners to the lodging which he had assigned for them, where some food was given to them; and, soon afterwards, when he was left in his tent with only a few of his servants, they were bid to return; and, the king being seated in the vestibule of the tent, Chatillon was introduced to Saladin, who reminded that lord of what he had said to the dishonour of Mahomet, and added, *I will now be the prophet's champion.* He then made him a proffer of the Mahometan faith, which being refused, he drew his scymeter, and aimed a blow at Chatillon's neck, but wounded him in the shoulder. His attendants immediately finished the execution, and threw the dead body, bleeding, out of the door of the tent, at the feet of the king, who, beholding this sad object, did not doubt that he himself must within a few minutes undergo the same fate. But the sultan, calling him in, bad him *be of good comfort; for it was not the custom of kings to murder kings; and as for that man, he had brought this death on himself by his iniquitous conduct.*"

On the following day the castle of Tiberias was surrendered to this victorious prince, and after a few more, Ptolemais, the most opulent, trading city on all that coast. But, before I proceed to relate the particulars of his further conquests, it will be proper to observe, that, neither in the account

count of the battle of Tiberias, delivered by the writer of the Life of Saladin, from the testimony of those who had been present therein (as he declares), nor in the letter above-cited from one of the knights templars who had also been in that action, is there any accusation of the earl of Tripoli, for having (as many writers of that age have supposed) in consequence of a secret agreement with Saladin, betrayed the Christian army, by posting them in a place where they had not room to act, and where no water could be found. On the contrary, the letter says, *they were driven by the enemy from their first post*. And certainly, as the sultan had a cavalry far superior in number to their's, the earl acted with prudence in endeavouring to secure the flanks and rear of the army entrusted to his conduct by mountains and defiles. But they were greatly over-matched; and it is rather surprising, that they should have been able to maintain a fight, against such odds, one whole day, than that they should have been forced to quit their ground the next morning, and retire to an eminence, where the firing of the woods, and want of water, which that place did not afford to them, constrained them to lay down their useless arms. The earl of Tripoli's early flight seems to have been the foundation of all the imputations of perfidy and treason which were afterwards thrown upon him: but, had there been any treaty, or amicable intelligence, between him and Saladin, the writer of that sultan's Life, who appears to have been trusted with the secret of his most important affairs relating to this war, would, probably, have known it, and could not have any reason to conceal it from his countrymen when he published his book, after the death of both parties: but he speaks of the earl in a manner very hostile, and particularly inconsistent with

Salad. Vit.
p. 79.

with the notion entertained by some ancient writers, of his having apostatized from the Christian to the Mahometan faith, or promised so to do.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
l. 477, 478.

The consternation in Europe on the first tidings brought thither of this defeat was excessive. We have a letter to Henry from Peter of Blois, who then was in Sicily, giving him an account, in few words, of what they had heard about it, and of the effects which the news had there produced. He says, that the king immediately put on sackcloth, and, passing four entire days in deep retirement and mourning, devoutly vowed and resolved to succour the Holy Land to the utmost of his power.

Galf. de
Vinisaut, l. i.
c. 5.

From many accounts it appears, that in this calamity there was nothing which so vehemently affected the passions of men in all parts of Christendom, as the losing of that cross, "*on which (says an English contemporary historian) our Lord and Redeemer had hung, which had been wetted with the blood of Christ; the sign of which men venerate, angels adore, devils dread; and by the protection of which the Christians in that country had hitherto been victorious in all their wars.*"

Gervase,
c. l. 1511.
Neubrigensf.
l. iii. c. 22.
Galf. de
Vinisaut,
l. i. c. 17.

Some writers affirm, that the hearing of this news accelerated the death of Pope Urban the Third, who was worn out with age, and had been sick for some time. He died at Ferrara on the nineteenth of October in this year eleven hundred and eighty-seven. A little before his decease, the report of these disasters being brought into Aquitaine, Richard, seized with the general fanaticism of the times, (which was strengthened in him by another kind of enthusiasm more natural to his temper, a passionate ardour for glory) without asking his father's leave, or advising with any friends, or allowing himself proper time to consider the consequences which might probably follow from it,

it, immediately took the cross. When this was told to his father, who then was in Normandy, ^{Neubrigenf. l. iii. c. 22.} that monarch was silent, and continued to be so, on the subject, till Richard came to his court, and some days afterwards; but, at last, he mildly asked him, "whether he had done well and agreeably to his duty in so hastily undertaking such an arduous enterprise without consulting him? Nevertheless (added he) I will by no means oppose your pious resolution, but enable you to perform it in the most distinguished manner."

Doubtless, he thought it prudent (as the act was irrevocable without a dispensation from the papal authority) not to blame what he knew could not easily be prevented. But it is also very probable, that he was not sorry to see the fiery spirit of Richard, if he himself, on the call of this extraordinary occasion, should go to the holy war, employed in the same service; by which it would be withheld from raising disturbances during that expedition, either in France or in England. Nor was it unpleasing to him, that the match of his son with Adelaïs of France, if that prince should not press the consummation thereof before his return from the East, might thus be eluded, and the difficulty of refusing either to give her to him, or send her back to Philip, which embarrassed him more than all his other affairs," removed to a great distance.

Pope Gregory the Eighth, who succeeded to Urban the Third, by a general epistle, dated on the twenty-ninth of October eleven hundred and eighty-seven, exhorted all christian princes, nobles, and people, to join in this crusade, promising to as many as should engage therein the same indulgences from his see, and the same protection with respect to their goods and possessions, as former popes had conferred on any former crusaders. From this epistle it appears, that, when Gregory

wrote

wrote it, the news of Jerusalem's having been taken by Saladin was not yet brought to Rome; but, probably, it was known there before his decease, which happened on the nineteenth day of December. The most authentic accounts of this memorable revolution in contemporary authors I find to be as follow :

Neubrigenf.
l. iii. c. 17.
Salad. Vit.
c. 57. p. 90,
91.
Abulfeda.
Benedict.
Abb. ad ann.
1187. t. ii.
p. 474.
Gall. de
Vinifauf,
l. i. c. 9.

Almost all the garrisons in the several fortresses of the Holy Land and the adjacent sea coast, having been drawn out, or much weakened, to form the army which Saladin destroyed in one battle, Cæsarea, Sidon, Berytus, Jaffa (called anciently Joppa) and many more towns and castles of considerable note, were in less than three months surrendered to that sultan, or to his lieutenants. The conquest of Ascalon, which is said to have been in a good state of defence, was facilitated to him by his having induced the captive king, whom he carried along with him wheresoever he went, to order his subjects there, and the queen, who then acted as regent of the kingdom, to give up that city, as a ransom for his person; which was accordingly done: yet the liberty of this prince was not restored to him till the month of May in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight. From Ascalon, Saladin, having first, by detachment, taken Gaza and other places, which made little or no resistance, advanced, with all his forces, reunited under his imperial standard, and laid siege to Jerusalem, which had indeed, by the numbers that had sought a refuge there from many parts of the country, a vast multitude of defenders, but very few soldiers, and all under the orders of a priest and a woman, the patriarch Heraclius and the queen Sibylla, assisted only by one chief, who knew any thing of war, the prince of Sidon. The sultan, therefore, from whom their weakness was not hidden, refused at first to grant them any capitulation, declaring, he would take the town by storm,

Abulfeda,
c. 17.
Salad Vit.
ut suprâ.

storm, as the Franks had taken it from the Mahometans. But, perceiving that despair inspired them with courage, and desiring to finish his conquest, he allowed them to purchase their lives and liberty with ten bisants of gold for every man in the city, five for every woman, and one for every child; all who should not be able to pay those sums being devoted to bondage. In consequence of these terms fourteen thousand were made slaves; and all the others, who had paid the rate imposed, were safely conducted to Tyre and Antioch, which yet remained unsubdued. The queen went to the latter, having been kindly and honourably treated by Saladin. The only offence that was given, by that prince or his army, to any of the christians, in the taking of Jerusalem, was, that a large gilded crucifix, erected on the top of the church of the hospital, was pulled down by the soldiers, dragged in the dirt, spit upon, and (as some writers say) whipt, through all the streets of the city, for two days together. We learn from Abulfeda, an Arabian historian who flourished in those times, that, on its being thrown down, a louder scream of lamentation was raised by the Franks, than the Musulmen ever had heard before from that people, on any other occasion, in the whole course of the war. It must however be observed, that this contumely was not designed against Christ, whom the Mahometans venerate, but against the superstitious and idolatrous worship of crosses and crucifixes, which they justly abhor. William of Newbury mentions a noble act of humanity done by the sultan, in permitting all the sick in the hospital at Jerusalem to remain quiet there, till they should die or recover, and appointing some knights, belonging to that house, to attend upon and nurse them, though he was not bound to this by the capitulation.

Galf. de
Vivislaus,
l. i. c. 9, 10.

Ibidem.
See also S.
lad. Vit. and
Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
p. 509.
Abulfeda,
c. 7.

Neubrigent.
l. iii. c. 17.

Thus,

Thus, on the twenty-ninth day of September in the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven, Jerusalem was recovered by the Mahometans, and again annexed to Ægypt, after having been held by the Latin Christians, or Franks, during ninety-six years, and governed by princes of the family of Anjou during fifty-eight, taking into the account the reign of Sibylla, who shared the throne with her husband. If a land be more defiled (as it certainly is) by the wickedness of those who dwell therein, than by errors in point of faith, the Holy Land was much purified by Saladin's conquest of it, he and those he brought thither being infinitely less vicious than those he expelled from it, as even the best christian writers of that age confess. Nor could it be otherwise: for the most atrocious offenders, in all parts of Christendom, were, by the mode of devotion which then prevailed, sent thither to gain a remission of their sins, or sought a secure asylum there against the vindictive justice of their several countries. The king himself had been one of these fugitive criminals: whereas Saladin (excepting a boundless ambition which had impelled him to many unjust usurpations) appears to have had no one vice, but to have excelled in all virtues; and the good example he gave, with the strictness of his justice, made his subjects more obedient to all the moral laws of civil society, than most others in the world. His usurpations themselves were excused by the zealous Mahometans, as conducive to what the spirit of their religion, and the positive precepts of their law, taught them to think a most meritorious design, the uniting of all the Musulmen under his orders, to make war on the Franks, and drive them out of the East.

Salad. Vit. c. 5. "With this purpose (says the author of his Life before cited) his whole soul was taken up; all his discourse, meditation, and attention, being drawn to this one point!" Accordingly, though the

the winter of the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven was now begun, he had no sooner settled Jerusalem to his mind, than he undertook the siege of Tyre, which had not yet received his yoke.

Its resistance was owing to the unexpected arrival of Conrade, the youngest son of the marquis of Montferrat, and brother to Queen Sibylla's first husband. This prince, who had married a sister of the emperor of Constantinople, having taken the cross, proposed to go by sea to Palestine, and came; the third day after Ptolemais was taken, within view of that city; but observing, as he approached, that no crosses could be seen on the steeples or towers, and that he heard no bells ring, he concluded that it was in the sultan's possession, and sailed from thence to Tyre, which he found just preparing to submit to Saladin. Some forces he brought with him, his animating discourses, and the high reputation he had gained in arms, by subduing a rebellion at Constantinople, the leader of which he had killed with his own hand, so raised the drooping spirits of the citizens, that, putting themselves wholly under his command and government, they resolved to hold out to the utmost extremity.

Thus a remainder of strength, and a communication by sea with succours from Europe, were preserved in those parts. Saladin had besieged Tyre before he took Ascalon; but, finding that the latter would be the easier conquest, he then raised his siege, to which he now returned, on the eleventh of November in this year eleven hundred and eighty-seven, and, having ordered a fleet of ten galleys from Ægypt to cruise before the port, assaulted the city on the side of the continent, with thirteen *catapults* (the great artillery of those times) which threw heavy stones against the walls. He also tried another method to conquer the obstinacy

Neubrigenf.
l. iii. c. 18.
N. ceras 11.
Ang. l. ii.
c. 1.

Salad. Vit.
c. 35. p. 72.
Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 509, 510.
Hoveden ad
ann. 1187.
Galf. de Vi-
nisauf, l. i.
c. 1.
Neubrigenf.
l. iii. c. 18.
19.
Saladin. Vit.
c. 38.
Abulfeda,
c. 27.

of

of the intrepid Conrade, by threatening, if he did not surrender the place, to put to death his father, the old marquis of Montferrat, who, having come to Jerusalem a little before the battle of Tiberias, had attended the king to that unfortunate action, and had, with him, lost his freedom. But Conrade slighted this menace, and the sultan did not carry it into execution. On the twenty-ninth of December, about break of day, a fleet, fitted out within the harbour of Tyre, suddenly attacked that of Ægypt, took five of the galleys, and destroyed all the others. This defeat constrained Saladin to raise the siege with disgrace. Most of his troops were sent home, and he, with the Mamelukes (a body of soldiers formed by him, and attendant on his person) wintered at Ptolemais.

N-ubrigenf.
l. iii. c. 18.

The day after Conrade had been received into Tyre, the earl of Tripoli and the prince of Sidon, having made their escape from the battle of Tiberias, came to that city, and endeavoured to get it into their possession; but Conrade drove them out, and hanged some of their party. The earl, covered with shame, took refuge at Tripoli, where, soon after his arrival, he died of a pleurisy, according to the writer of the Life of Saladin above-cited, or (according to others) of a fever, attended with a frenzy. His subjects, after his death, put themselves under the government of Boamond; prince of Antioch: and the prince of Sidon went to aid the queen of Jerusalem in defending that city, which, if he and the earl of Tripoli had been accomplices (as some authors suppose) in treason against her husband, he, surely, would not have done, but would rather have repaired to the camp of the sultan. Nor would she have admitted him to her court and her council, had there been the least suspicion of such a perfidy at that time.

V. *Authores*
citatos ut
suprà.

Benedit.
Abb. t. ii.
f. 503, 504.
Hoveden ad
ann. 1188.

We have a letter to Henry from the patriarch of Antioch, written just after Saladin had laid siege to

to Jerusalem, in which that prelate tells the English monarch, "that, as he was pre-eminent above all other kings of the West, in prudence, fame, and riches, the distressed Christians of the East implored him to make haste, and bring them, in that extremity of their danger, a powerful succour, that the holy sepulchre of our Lord, and the noble city of Antioch, might be saved by him from subjection to foreigners and infidels, which would be an eternal disgrace to Christendom."

Henry's answer was addressed, not only to this patriarch, but also to Heraclius, to Boamond, prince of Antioch, and to all the eastern Christians, whom he assures, "that, even sooner than they could hope, such a multitude of the faithful would come to their assistance, as eye had not seen, nor ear heard, neither had it entered into the heart of man to conceive: and that, among other princes, he and his son Richard, rejecting all the glory of this world, despising all its pleasures, and submitting all its interests to their concern for this object, would personally visit them, and employ their whole force to succour and defend them."

This resolution having been taken, Henry wished to go over from Normandy into England, in order to make there all the necessary preparations for such an enterprise, and to ask the consent and aid of his parliament for the carrying it on: but, when he was come to the sea-side, he was stopp'd by receiving intelligence from his ministers, that the king of France was arming, to force him immediately to restore Gisors and all its dependencies, or marry his son to the princess Adalais. Hereupon he turned back, and hastened to Gisors, between which place and Trie he and Philip held a conference on the twenty-first day of January in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad.
ann. 1188.

To this meeting came William, the learned archbishop of Tyre, who has left us a history of the holy wars, from the beginning of them to the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, in style and matter far superior to any other historical composition of that age, or of many preceding ages. He was sent to implore all the powers of Europe to aid the Holy Land, and did it so successfully, that not only the king of England, who appears to have determined upon it before, but the king of France also, and with him the earl of Flanders, the earl of Champagne, and a great number of princes, lords, and knights, assembled here to deliberate on this proposition, took the cross from his hands. As Philip now had a son, the objections to his going on such a dangerous expedition were in some degree lessened; and his quarrel with Henry was easily made to give way, in the present temper of his mind, to the exhortations of the prelates and intercessions of the nobles, without any great discussion of the points in dispute.

V. Authores
citatos ut
supra.

Proper methods of providing for the enormous expences of this undertaking were settled between the two kings, with the assent of all present; and we find that this plan was afterwards ratified in a council of the barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, convened by Henry at Mans, the acts of which are preserved in Roger de Hoveden's annals: nor do I doubt of its having been likewise confirmed in Normandy and in Aquitaine by particular acts of those states: but that it was so in England is undeniable; and, as the substance of what the several assemblies enacted is much the same, I will only recite the resolutions or statutes of the English parliament thereupon, omitting to mention any further particulars of these proceedings in France, except that, to distinguish the nations engaged in this crusade, the crosses there given to the
French

French were red, those to the Flemish were green, and those to the English were white.

On the thirtieth of January in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight Henry landed in England, and on the eleventh of February met his great council at Gritington in Northamptonshire, where, *after much debate*, it was resolved to agree to the following articles relative to the crusade.

Gervais,
col. 1522.
ad ann. 1188.

The first was only a declaration of a plenary absolution from all sins repented of and duly confessed, which, it was said, would be given, *by the authority of God, of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the Chief Pontiff*, to all persons, whether ecclesiasticks or laymen, who should take the cross.

The next confirmed the ordinance, made in France by both kings, and by the archbishops, bishops, and other nobles there assembled, that all those, whether ecclesiasticks or laymen, who did not go to this war, should give the tenth part of all their rents for one year, and of all their goods, in gold, silver, or any other things, except the books, the wearing cloaths, and the sacred vestments of clergymen, and the ornaments of chapels, and jewels, (whether belonging to clergymen or laymen) and the horses, arms, and apparel, of military men, which were for their own proper use. All clergymen, knights, and squires, who should go to this war, were to have the tenths of the lands held under them in demesne, and of the lands of their vassals; and to give nothing themselves. But burghesses, or free socmen, going without the consent of their respective lords, were nevertheless to give tenths: a clause inserted to hinder these two classes of men, by whose absence from their homes the tillage and trade of the kingdom might be grievously hurt, from engaging in this warfare: notwithstanding which it appears that many of

Neubrigenf.
l. iii. c. 23.

them took the cross; so strong was the desire of gaining the indulgences offered by the pope, and so contagious the frenzy of this species of fanaticism among all sorts of people!

Guise,
col. 1522.

Regulations were made to restrain the crusaders from swearing, and from gaming, and from any luxury in their dress, and from ever having at their tables more than two dishes of any thing bought; and to forbid every man from taking with him any woman, except a single washerwoman, who was to go on foot, and of whom (says the statute) there can be no suspicion: that is, (I suppose) she was to be old and ugly. But no person was to go in torn or ragged cloaths.

Almost all these restraints were very proper and useful; as one of the greatest difficulties in these expeditions was the being incumbered with superfluous numbers and unnecessary baggage. By other clauses, here enacted, power was given to any of the clergy or laity, going upon this service, to mortgage all their revenues, ecclesiastick or secular, for the term of three years from the ensuing feast of Easter, during which time the creditors (whatever became of the debtors) were to receive all the fruits of what had been mortgaged to them. And out of any estates which had been mortgaged before the taking of the cross, the debtor, who had taken it, was to receive all the profits during one year, and then they were to revert to the creditor; but so, as that whatever fruits he received were to be reckoned in discharge of the principal sum of the debt, which was to carry no interest during the time of the debtor's being abroad. The money of any who died in this expedition was to be divided according to the advice and direction of certain discreet persons, appointed for this purpose, and agreeably to the uses for which it had been brought. This was a wise regulation; as from the numbers so dying a large fund
would

would accrue for the services of the war, and for the support of the servants, whom the death of their masters might otherwise leave in want.

These articles having had a parliamentary sanction, the archbishop of Canterbury, who, together with the bishops of Durham and Norwich, had already taken the cross, rising up in the general assembly, and haranguing the people, denounced excommunication against any persons, who, for seven years to come, should begin or foment any war. This was done to secure the internal peace of the kingdom during the crusade. The archbishop and his vicar, the bishop of Rochester, preached, the same day, before the king and parliament, *on the mystery of the cross*, most impertinently applied to this intended warfare, in which, among many others of the nobles present there, engaged Ranulph de Glanville, grand justiciary of the realm, whom his office and age would have certainly kept in England, to attend to the government and custody of it while the king should be absent, if enthusiasm could have listened, in any degree, at this time, to the dictates of reason.

The method used by the king, with the advice of his parliament, for collecting the tenths which that assembly had granted, was to chuse a certain number of the clergy and laity, in whose prudence he put a special trust, and to send them into all the several counties, as his commissioners on this business. He likewise ordered, that two hundred of the wealthiest men in London, one hundred in York, and proportionably in all the other cities of England, should appear before him, at times and places assigned. From these he took the tenth part of their revenues and chattels, according to the estimation of men of good character, who knew what they were. How the tax was collected from the poorer inhabitants, we have no information; only it may be presumed, from what is said by

Bromton
Chron. ad
ann. 1181.
Neubrigens.
l. iii. c. 23.
i. iv. c. 4.
Gervase,
col. 1522.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden,
ad ann. 1183.

some

Vide Autho-
res citatos ut
suprà.

Neubrigenf.
l. ii. c. 25.

Gerv. col.
1529.

See notes to
the first vol.

See Madox,
Hist. of the
Exchequer,
p. 151. c. 7.

some writers, that less strictness was used in valuing their chattels: but we are told, that if any who came before the king, for the payment of these tenths, were refractory against it, he instantly threw them into jail, and kept them there in irons till they had paid the last farthing. This he was forced to do; immense supplies being wanted to defray the expences, which the enterprise wherein he and multitudes of his subjects, with their own consent, were engaged, would necessarily demand. On such an occasion, the sparing the money of those who did not go out of the kingdom would have sacrificed the lives of those who did. Yet most of the monks were displeased, that their wealth was not free from this general contribution, though required for a service, which even their master, the pope, had declared to be holy, and vehemently pressed on all princes. But William of Newbury, the most candid of all the ecclesiasticks who wrote in that age, bears testimony to Henry, "that, during his whole reign, he had never imposed, either on his English or transmarine dominions, any one grievous burthen, till these tenths for the Holy War, which were equally levied in many other countries. Nor had he, on pretence of any necessity (as other princes used to do) ever laid any tax on the lands that were held by churches and monasteries in frank almoigne, but had always been as careful of their rights and possessions as of his own demesnes."

Gervase of Canterbury says, that in England, by these tenths, above seventy thousand pounds were raised from the Christians, and sixty thousand from the Jews, which all together may be estimated, on the lowest computation, as equivalent in those days to little less than a grant of two millions sterling in these. The sum paid by the Jews amounted (as appears by the Exchequer accounts)

to

to a fourth part of their chattels. Their numbers had, probably, much encreased in England, by the expulsion of all their countrymen out of France, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, an act done by Philip to gain popularity, and to profit (as he did) by the confiscation of all their immoveable goods, but coloured perhaps, and reconciled to his conscience, by the bigotry of the times. Henry's mind, more enlightened, saw that men of all religions are entitled to all the rights of humanity, and that no blasphemy is so horrid against the name of Christ, as the making it authorize any violation of the moral laws of nature, or of that universal benevolence to mankind, which his precepts most strongly inculcate and injoin. He also saw that the Jews, by settling in his kingdom, greatly added to its wealth, and therefore gave them encouragement to make it their asylum, when driven from other countries, by protecting them from all wrongs, and doing them many favours, as far as the prejudices of that age would permit. The share they bore in this tax was grievous to them, and much eased his other subjects, but could not soften the rage of religious hatred against them, in the breasts of the common people, which broke out, at the beginning of the following reign, to the destruction of many of them, and to the foul disgrace of Christianity.

During the course of this summer the archbishop of Canterbury preached the crusade in Wales. By means of his exhortations three thousand of that nation enlisted in this service. Rhees ap Gryffyth himself would have been one of the number, if he had not been withheld from executing his purpose by the prayers and tears of his wife, who was daughter to Madoc, the prince of Powis-land. For this she is censured by Giraldus Cambrensis: the zeal of those times being such, that (as we learn from another contemporary historian) "*wives in-*"

Gul. Armo-
ric. ad ann.
1182.

Girald.
Cambrenf.
Itinerarium
Cambriae,
l. iii. c. 13.

Gulf. de
Vinifuf,
l. i. c. 17.

" cited

Girald.
Cambr. ibi-
dem, c. 12.

"cited their husbands and mothers their sons to this glorious warfare, only grieving, that, by reason of the weakness of their sex, they could not go with them." It is very remarkable that Owain Cevilioc was actually excommunicated by the archbishop, because he alone of all the Welsh princes did not come out, with his people, to meet that prelate!

Irish Annals

One might wonder that no missionary went into Ireland, to preach the crusade in that isle: but it seems to have been owing to the following weighty reasons. If a number of the English, or of the Welsh, settled there, had gone from thence to the East, the natives would probably have driven out the remainder; and therefore Henry could not desire, or suffer, such a dangerous diminution of his strength in that kingdom. As for the Irish, want of money rendered most of them unable to bear the heavy charges of such an expedition; and some of them were, at this time, engaged in civil wars, particularly those of Conaught; a party there having risen against Conor Manmoy, son of Roderick O'Connor, to whom his father, after John's return out of Ireland, had again resigned the reins of government in that province. These rebels, among whom were some of Conor's own relations, invited Curcy, the English deputy under Henry and his son, to come to their aid. The conquest made by that lord of the province of Ulster had just before been secured by the death of O'Lachlin, prince or chieftain of Tyrone, who was killed by an English arrow, in a fight with some marauders from the county of Down. Curcy therefore was glad to carry his arms into Conaught, and take this opportunity of reducing that kingdom, which had revolted against John, to the obedience of England. But Conor Manmoy procured aid from Donald O'Brian, prince of Limerick; and, by their united forces,

forces, the English army, after doing great mischief in that country, was forced to retire out of it, the rebels were defeated, and Conor's authority seemed to be firmly established. Yet, the next year, he was murdered; some of his own nearest friends conspiring against him with the late vanquished party. Nor did the blood of this prince quench the flame of civil discord in this unhappy realm: it continued to burn with the most destructive fury till after the times of which I write; Rodrick O'Connor remaining, in the monastery chosen by him for his place of retreat, a quiet and helpless spectator of the miserable calamities of his family and his people.

Things being in this state, no supplies for the holy war could be drawn out of Ireland, but Henry did what he could to procure some from Scotland. William the Lion had lately, in a conference with him, desired the restitution of Roxborough and Berwick, two of those castles which, in the year eleven hundred and seventy-four, had been given to him as pledges for the execution of the articles of the treaty between them, whereby Scotland was made subject to the sovereignty of England. Jedburgh, Sterling, and Edinburgh had been restored, and it does not clearly appear why Henry still retained the other two: but I presume it was because a dispute still continued concerning the dependence of the Scottish church on the English. The treaty had declared, that the former should pay that obedience to the latter, *which was due to it, and had been usually paid in the times of William's predecessors.* But all the prelates of Scotland, attending, with their king, in the parliament of Northampton, which was held in the year eleven hundred and seventy-six, denied that any *was due, or had ever been paid,* by their church. Whereupon, the archbishop of York maintained, that the bishops of Glasgow and Wittern had acknowledged them-

B-medist.
Abb. ad
ann. 1188.

B-medist.
Abb. t. 4.
p. 136, 137.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1176.

themselves subject to his predecessors ; and produced papal bulls, which confirmed the metropolitan rights of his see over the church of Scotland. To these allegations the bishop of Glasgow replied, that his see, by special grace, was the daughter of Rome, and exempted from all subjection to archbishops or bishops ; and, if York ever had any authority over her, it had been forfeited, and did no longer exist. Before this dispute was ended, another arose, between the archbishops of York and Canterbury ; the latter affirming, that to his see, not to York, the church of Scotland was subject. Henry therefore thought it best to postpone the decision of the principal question till the two metropolitans had settled the controversy between themselves. He dismissed the Scottish prelates, who, at their return into Scotland, privately sent to the pope, and implored his holiness to receive them into his own hands, and protect them, as his immediate dependants, from that subjection which the church of England required. This contest was not brought to its final conclusion till after Henry's death ; but the present state of it, with undecided claims, and much heat on both sides, may have been the excuse for detaining the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwick. William offered to redeem them with four thousand marks. To which Henry made answer, that they should be restored, if William would pay to him the tenths of his kingdom for the use of the holy war. That prince, well disposed to satisfy him herein, returned speedily into Scotland, on the borders of which country he soon afterwards met the bishop of Durham, and other ministers sent by Henry on this errand. In this place were assembled, with and under their king, almost all the Scotch barons, spiritual and temporal, and an infinite multitude of his inferior vassals, whom he informed of the cause, for which these English came, and what they demanded. At the

Benedict.
Abb. ad
ann. 1188.

the conclusion of their deliberation upon it, he notified to the envoys, *that he could not persuade the members of the council to give the tents.* And they answered for themselves, *that they never would give them, even though the king of England, and their lord the king of Scotland, should have sworn, they would have them :* which determination no entreaties or menaces of the envoys could prevail upon them to alter : a remarkable instance of the freedom and the spirit of the Scotch parliament in those days !

I presume, the sole reason of their obstinacy in this matter was the poverty of the nation. For it cannot be supposed that they had less zeal for the recovery of the holy land than the other christian states which agreed to this tax ; and they had a further inducement to persuade them to pay it, viz. the desire of regaining the two forts above-mentioned. The same national poverty may have been also one cause of their having given up the sovereignty of their kingdom for the liberty of their king. If they had not redeemed him by making that concession, they must either have paid a heavy ransom for him, or have left him, all his life, a wretched captive in bonds. They would not do this ; they could not do the other. Therefore the modern Scotch writers, who blame Henry for imposing too hard terms on that prince, and, through his distress, on the nation, do not consider that he set him free without asking any ransom.

I will only add, on the subject of the present demand, that, as William did not chuse to take the cross, and accompany Henry and Richard into Palestine, it would have been very unsafe to restore to him the forts of Roxborough and Berwick till their return from those parts ; more especially, as the English were deprived of their wealth for the support of this war, to which the Scots would pay nothing. Henry therefore retained them as securities

rities to his crown against any revolt of that people in his absence.

Galf. de Vinifaut, l. i. c. 19. Histoire d'Allemagne par le P. Barre ad ann. 1188. Chron. Sclav. l. iii. c. 29.

While these things were transacting in the island of Great Britain, during the course of the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight, the archbishop of Tyre had gone from France into Germany, and there preached the crusade, assisted by a legate from Pope Clement the Third, with whom he was joined in commission. Their success was as great as they could wish! The emperor himself, although he was now in the sixty-eighth year of his age, took the cross in a diet assembled by him at Mainz on the twenty-seventh of March, and so did most of the princes and counts of the empire, incited by religion, by their natural bravery, and by his example. The tenths were granted by all the states of the empire, as in France and in England: but, to prevent the disorders which might be caused by a multitude of indigent people engaging in this service, a wise regulation was made, that no man should be permitted to march with the army, who had not means of his own to provide himself with all necessaries for a journey of a year: notwithstanding which order, the number of forces that marched out of Germany, under the imperial standard, was found, on a review which the emperor made in Hungary, to be then about a hundred and fifty thousand. Before that prince set out, he was careful to secure the tranquillity of the empire during his absence; and therefore adjusted, or waved, some disputes between him and the Roman pontificate, which had almost drawn upon him an excommunication from Pope Urban the Third. With the same intention he obtained a decree from a diet assembled at Goslar, in this year eleven hundred and eighty-eight, by which Henry the Lion was obliged to accompany him to the holy war, or swear to go immediately out of the empire,

Annales Paderborn. ad ann. 1188. Benedict. Abb. t. i. p. 527, 528. 535.

pire, and not return into any part thereof before the end of three years.

This unfortunate duke, whom the emperor had permitted to come into Germany in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, had, from that time, been vainly soliciting a restitution of the territories, which the ban of the empire had torn from him in the year eleven hundred and eighty. But, notwithstanding the repeated intercessions of his father-in-law, the king of England, and his son-in-law, the king of Denmark, nothing was done in his favour. It is said indeed, that now, in the diet of Goslar, an option was given to him, either to be reinstated in some of his fiefs, if he would go with the emperor to the holy war; or, if he declined that proposal, to wait in exile for the full recovery of them till the end of three years, at which term this assembly encouraged him to expect it. He chose the latter, not, perhaps, from any confidence in the promise or hopes thrown out to him, but because his stay in Europe might procure him opportunities, during that period, to do more for himself than was offered by the diet, on the condition of his joining the other potentates of the empire in this crusade. His dutchess, who had gone, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, to live with him at Brunswick, not being able, in the present infirm state of her health, to follow him again into exile, remained in that city, where she died in the year eleven hundred and eighty-nine. But the duke, quickly after the rising of the diet, went back to his former refuge, the court of King Henry, whose peace of mind the unhappy state of this branch of his family not a little disturbed. Some of our historians say, the emperor had requested that the duke's eldest son should go with him to the East, meaning thus to make that prince a hostage for his father: but the duke excused himself from giving his consent to this proposition,

Rimius,
Memoirs of
the house of
Brunswick.
Hist. d'Allemagne, par
le P. Barre,
ad ann. 1188.

Sigenius.

position, till he should know the advice of King Henry upon it, which appears to have been such as he desired; for the young prince did not go. The emperor's second son attended him to the holy war; but his eldest, named Henry, who had been, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-two, chosen king of the Romans, stayed behind him in Germany, to govern the empire, by virtue of that dignity, during his absence, and succeed to it in case of his decease. They had both, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three, made peace with the Lombards; in consequence of which Henry was crowned king of Lombardy by the archbishop of Milan, and, his authority in those parts being firmly established, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five he had married Constantia, a posthumous daughter of Roger, king of Sicily. This alliance, as William the present sovereign had no issue, after living with his wife, the king of England's daughter, about nine years, and as there was no lawful son or brother of his father, to claim the succession, gave the king of the Romans a reasonable expectation (which did not prove false) of inheriting Sicily and all that is now called the kingdom of Naples. The barrenness of Queen Jane, probably caused by her having been married too young, destroyed the hopes, which her father had entertained, that those opulent countries would long continue subject to princes of his race. It likewise made the see of Rome exceedingly apprehensive of the consequences of the match between the king of the Romans and the Princess Constantia, as likely to produce a formidable augmentation of the imperial power, which the popes always dreaded, especially when they saw it encrease in Italy. So much did this jealousy inflame the mind of Pope Urban the Third, that he suspended, as soon as he heard of the marriage, all the bishops assistant in the celebration of it: a most scandalous
use

use of ecclesiastical censures for political ends! But Clement the Third, at this time, found it necessary to be reconciled, however unwillingly, to the king of the Romans, that no impediment might prevent the emperor's taking part in the present Holy War, to which the papal bulls and legates were warmly exciting all the princes of the empire. He also finished a pacification between the republics of Genoa and Pisa, which his predecessor, Pope Gregory the Eighth, had begun, and persuaded them to unite their maritime forces, very considerable in those days, against the Mahometans on the coast of Palestine and Coelosyria, in aid of the Christians. The king of Sicily, who was still more potent at sea, and nearer to those coasts than any other of the European princes, sent thither a strong fleet, very early in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight, by the assistance of which, Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch, which would else have been lost, were defended.

*Galf. de Vini-
saut, l. i.
c. 14.*

The king of England, soon after he had taken the cross, sent a minister to the courts of the emperors of Germany and of Constantinople, and likewise to that of Bela, king of Hungary, to ask a safe passage for himself and his army through their territories, and free markets to furnish the necessary provisions. Mention is made in the letters he wrote on this subject, that the king of France and his forces would accompany him in his march. Hence it appears, that these monarchs had determined, at this time, to go together, by land, from France into Palestine, a resolution which afterwards was prudently altered by Philip and Richard, on account of the great difficulty of finding subsistence for two such armies combined. It may nevertheless be presumed, from the naval preparations now made by King Henry, that his purpose was to send some part of his forces, from England to Tyre, by sea. His request was granted by

*Diceto ad
ann. 1183.*

See Appendix
from Dictione
Ling. Hist.
vol. 636,
637, 638.

Niketas.

Neubrig. l.
iii. c. 14.
Vit. Salad. c.
41. et seq.
wique ad 51.
Abulfewa,
c. 29, 30.

Gal. de Vi-
nifaus. l. i.
c. 8, 10, 11,
25.
Vit. Salad.
c. 54.

by all the three potentates above-mentioned: but it is worthy of note, that the German emperor styled him, in the superscription of his letter, *his dearest brother, the illustrious king of England*; but the Greek neither gave him the appellation of *brother*, nor the epithet *illustrious* in the superscription, nor any higher title in the body of his letter, than *your Nobility* (*vestra nobilitas*.) This prince, Isaac Angelus, had, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-five, dethroned Andronicus, who, after having deposed and put to death Alexius, the son of Manuel Comnenus, had supported his usurped dominion two years, by many cruel deeds, which the furious populace, to whom Isaac delivered him up, revenged as cruelly upon him. Yet the empire was worse governed by his successor than by him. For, inhuman as he was, he had in his character some of those qualities which are useful to a state: but in Isaac Angelus a most extravagant pride was the only mark of greatness.

During the course of this year eleven hundred and eighty-eight, while the princes of Europe were preparing to endeavour the recovery of the Holy Land, Saladin won from the Christians the cities of Gabala and Laodicea on the Syrian coast, with many strong castles to the south of those places, between them and Damascus, and to the north in the territory belonging to Antioch, even within a few miles of the capital itself, which forced the citizens to agree to deliver it up, at the end of eight months, if not succoured from Europe before that term. But the garrisons and inhabitants of most of those fortresses, being allowed to go to Tyre, much strengthened that town. The captive king of Jerusalem had been freed by the sultan about the beginning of May, after solemnly promising, that he would never bear arms against that prince; and that, renouncing his kingdom, he would instantly go beyond the sea, into perpetual exile.

exile. But, on his arrival at Antioch, the clergy absolved him from this oath, because the city of Ascalon had been yielded to Saladin as the price of his liberty, after which he had still been detained in captivity during several months, and these conditions had finally been superadded, and extorted from him by force. His breach of faith having thus been excused to the Christians, though not to the Mahometans, who loaded him with reproaches, as perfidious and perjured, he drew together some troops, and demanded admission into his city of Tyre; but Conrade refused it, and this quarrel produced an intestine war in those parts among the Franks, which some writers suppose the politick sultan foresaw, when he set the king free. But, before the end of the year, the interposition of friends suspended the effects of so pernicious a discord, Conrade remaining sole master of the city of Tyre, and Guy de Lusignan making his abode at Tripoli, where his sovereignty was acknowledged, till about the end of August in the following year, when he and Conrade joined their arms to besiege Ptolemais, under the walls of which town, defended by all the forces of Saladin, and assaulted by the kings of England and France, the greatest actions of this crusade were performed.

Before I proceed to relate the occurrences of the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight in Henry's foreign dominions, it will be proper to finish the ecclesiastical history of the reign of that king, by mentioning some particulars, relating to the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, of which no account has yet been given.

While Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of the apostolical see, was exhorting the Welsh to attempt the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, the monks of Canterbury were as busy, and with no less heat of zeal, in trying to get a college for secular canons, which he had begun to

Gervase, ad
ann. 1188.

build at Hackington, near that city, pulled down. They suspected the truth, that his secret purpose was, to make this foundation a rival to their convent; and, in order to frustrate that project, had, in the preceding year, so exerted their interest with the see of Rome, always disposed to favour them in preference to the bishops or other secular clergy, that Pope Urban the Third, who had authorised his design, and allowed him a fourth part of the offerings made at Becket's tomb, for this, or for any other use, at his pleasure, soon afterwards sent him an apostolical mandate to put a stop to the building, and likewise to restore the prior of the convent and one of the monks, whom he had dared to suspend for having appealed to the Roman see on this business. But, the primate not paying the least regard to this bull, and even refusing to answer to the appeal, Urban appointed the abbots of Battle-abbey, Feversham, and St. Augustin's his legates, to enforce the execution of what he had commanded; which they preparing to do, the grand justiciary of the kingdom, Ranulph de Glanville, forbade them to proceed: a very remarkable act of the royal prerogative against the papal power! The reader may see the writ of inhibition, transcribed from the Chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury in the Appendix to this book. It stopped their proceedings; and the archbishop, supported by the authority of the crown, forbade the monks from holding their usual manor-courts, and seized their possessions.

Ibidem, ad
ann. 1137.

V. Append.
from Gervase,
col. 1503.

Gervase,
col. 1508,
1509, 1510.

The pope, informed of these things, repeated his orders to two of the abbots above-named, that under pain of incurring the heavy displeasure of the apostolic see, they should compel the refractory archbishop to obey his injunctions, within the term of thirty days, and added to them the bishops of Bath and Chichester. He likewise wrote to the king, and reminded him *how expedient it was for*
his

his kingdom, that the glorious martyr, St. Thomas, should continue to be an intercessor for him, which he could not expect, if he did not maintain the privileges and dignities of the church of Canterbury. His Holiness, therefore, exhorted him in the Lord, and enjoined him, for the remission of his sins, not to suffer that church to be injuriously treated, nor prohibit or hinder the compleat execution of the mandate now sent to the persons before-mentioned. But the decease of this pontiff, which soon ensued, and Gregory's friendship for Baldwin, rendered all that had been done to favour the monks of no effect; and the archbishop proceeded with so much rigour against them, that, their revenues being all detained, they were forced to live upon alms. Nevertheless, as the life of Gregory, after his election, was of very short duration, they quickly found a new and zealous protector in his successor Clement, who not only reiterated Urban's injunctions, but also commanded the prior of Faversham, and another ecclesiastick, to excommunicate those who had been guilty of violence against the monks. This mandate was obeyed; but the sentence was slighted even by the secular clergy of the city of Canterbury, who, in the name of the king and of the archbishop, forbade their parishioners to avoid the society of the excommunicated persons, saying publicly in their sermons, *that the pope's sentence had no force in the archbishop's diocese*. And some citizens, among whom was a nephew of Becket, for refusing to hold communion with those who were under this anathema, were committed to the publick house of correction by an order from the king. Clement, amazed and alarmed at this rebellion against his spiritual monarchy, sent to England a cardinal legate on this business, which, however light in itself, was now become of great moment. But, he dying on the road, nothing effectual was done in favour of the

Ibid. m ad
ann. 1182.

Gervase,
col. 1531.

Ibid. m, col.
1537, 1538.

Ibidem, col.
1543.

Ibidem, col.
1544.

monks, till another legate arrived in Henry's foreign dominions, with power to enforce the former bulls; which brought the archbishop to offer a restitution of the lands of the convent on certain conditions. Yet the whole dispute was adjourned till the legate should be able to go into England, and take cognizance of it there. In the mean time the grand justiciary, being sent into England on another affair, had some discourse with the sub-prior of the convent of Canterbury, who intimating to him how much they desired and wanted the king's mercy, his answer was, "You yourselves will have no mercy, but, from your attachment to the court of Rome, refuse to submit to the advice of your sovereign, or of any other person; nor will you do any thing to please your archbishop, or even condescend to ask his forgiveness with the least supplication." The sub-prior replied, as Becket himself would have done, that, *saving the interests of their monastery, and the rights of the church*, they were ready to submit to the counsels of the king and of all good men, but were greatly deterred from trusting to those of the king, by his having suffered them to remain, during almost two years, deprived of all their possessions, and in a manner imprisoned within their own walls. "If you doubt the king (answered Glanville) there are bishops and abbots of your order, and there are barons and churchmen belonging to the court, who, if you would trust your cause to them, would certainly do you justice." The reply to this was a declaration, that all these were so partial on the side of the archbishop, so complaisant to the king, and so unfriendly to them for whom he (the sub-prior) was concerned, that they did not dare to confide in their arbitration. Whereupon Glanville, quitting him with indignation, said, "*You monks*
" *turn*

"turn your eyes to Rome alone; and Rome alone will destroy you."

Soon after this conversation, some deputies from the convent, who had gone into France to the legate, were advised by that prelate to wait upon the king, who was then lying sick at a castle in Touraine, and try to touch his heart, which his present condition might render less obdurate, with compassion towards them. Having, not without difficulty, got access to him, they opened their business by saying, *the convent of Canterbury saluted him as their lord.* To which he abruptly made answer, "*Ye wicked traitors, I have been, am, and will be your lord. But go quickly away: I will talk on your affair with my faithful subjects.*" As they went from him, one of them (perhaps Gervase himself who has given these particulars) uttered this imprecation, "*May Almighty God, through the merits of the blessed martyr, Thomas, do us justice on thy body.*" We are not told whether Henry heard him or not, but only that he postponed the decision of the controversy till he should return into England, which he did not live to do. From the whole transaction it seems that, as he had the advantage, in this combat with Rome, of fighting behind an archbishop of Canterbury, he fought more boldly, and with better success, than he had formerly done, when an archbishop of Canterbury had been his opponent, and the champion of Rome against his crown.

In Scotland the dispute, between William the Lion and the Roman pontificate, concerning the fee of St. Andrew's, was determined about the feast of Pentecost in the year eleven hundred and eighty-nine, to the king's satisfaction. The accommodation attempted by Pope Lucius the Third, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, had not taken effect; William having refused to give the temporalities of the bishoprick of Dunkeld to John

See p. 374.

375. of this volume, and Benedict.

Abb. t. ii. p. 511, 512, 513.

Scott :

Scott : for which reason Pope Urban, the successor of Lucius, summoned Hugh, who by virtue of that agreement had gained the see of St. Andrew's, to appear before him at Rome. But, this citation having been disobeyed by that prelate till after Urban's death, Clement the Third, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight, deposed him from his see, and strongly recommended the electing of John Scott to fill his place. The king, to whom his Holiness wrote on this subject in very respectful terms, was brought to receive Scott as bishop of Dunkeld, on condition of his absolutely renouncing for ever any claim to St. Andrew's. Hugh was obliged to go to Rome, in order to obtain absolution of the pope from excommunication, and died in that city, with almost all his household, of a sickness which raged there in the month of August this year. Soon after his decease, a mandate to the clergy of the diocese of St. Andrew's, was sent by the pope, requiring them to receive John Scott as their bishop, within fifteen days from the delivery thereof, and annulling by the apostolic authority any other election, which they had made or should make. He also wrote to King Henry, entreating, admonishing, and even injoining that prince, for the remission of his sins, to exhort and persuade, or (if it should be necessary) *compel* the king of Scotland, *by the power he had over him*, to let Scott enjoy in peace the see of St. Andrew's, as that prelate, on his part, was ready to be, in all points, obedient and faithful to the royal majesty, *so far as in reason he could*. But, these letters not producing the desired effect, the same pontiff, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-nine, addressed another to several prelates of Scotland, ordering them to repeat to the king his injunctions concerning this affair, and, if he did not comply with them before the end of twenty days, to excommunicate

municate him, and to put his whole kingdom under an interdict.

This letter was delivered into the hands of Scott, to be used by him at his pleasure : but, tired of the contest, and thinking it more desirable to take quietly what his sovereign was willing to grant, than endeavour to obtain, by such violent methods, a forced consent from that prince to his former election, he suppressed the pope's mandate, and permitted the chapter, without contradiction from him, to elect a son of the earl of Leicester, recommended by William to the see of St. Andrew's. He likewise suffered the king to give in his presence, to one of his own chaplains, the office of chancellor, which he had formerly asked ; contenting himself now with the peaceful enjoyment of the revenues of Dunkeld, together with those of the archdeaconry of St. Andrew's, which he had possessed before his consecration, and was allowed to retain.

Thus honourably for his crown did William the Lion end his long dispute with Rome ! but he owed his success to the quiet temper of Scott, as much as to his own perseverance and firmness. If that prelate had acted with the spirit of Becket, or even of the monks of Canterbury, this affair might have had a different conclusion.

In the year eleven hundred and eighty-six, a provincial synod was held, under John Cumin, the English archbishop of Dublin, for the better regulation of the manners and discipline of the clergy of Ireland. On the second day of their meeting, an Irish abbot, there present, to excuse the incontinence with which the ecclesiasticks of his nation were charged, laid all the blame of the fact (which he did not deny) on the bad examples given to them by the Welsh and English clergy, who were come into their country : and this was verified by two priests of the province of Wexford, transplanted
thither

*a Girald.
Cambrenf.
de rebus à se
gestis, c. 13.
14. in An-
glicis sacra,
t. ii.*

thither from Wales, who accused one another of living each with a woman he had publickly married: which being proved to the council, the archbishop immediately suspended them both, *in order to clear himself* (says Giraldus Cambrensis) *of approving such uncleanness and such enormities.* By way of recrimination, that author preached, the next day, against the general drunkenness of the Irish clergy, and the negligence of their prelates in the pastoral duties. On the first of these points he says, that the Irish, who were in holy orders usually fasted till the evening, but made themselves amends by immoderate drinking of wine and other liquors, the greater part of the night. And he argues, that probably those who were drunk were not chaste.

I will only observe, that the chief intention of this council appears to have been, the fixing the unnatural restraint of celibacy on the clergy of Ireland, from the consequences of which great *uncleanness* and great *enormities* did really spring, but which helped to secure the ecclesiastical independence upon civil society, which Rome made the corner-stone of the mighty fabrick of her power. Yet it seems, that in Ireland the designs of the church against the state were somewhat checked at this time. For Giraldus Cambrensis informs us, that Prince John, in whose service King Henry had sent him thither, having offered to give him the bishoprick of Fernes, or that of Lechlin, and he having declined to accept either of them, it was proposed by the prince to unite the two dioceses, and make him bishop of both: to which, he says, he replied, “that if he saw the mind of John incline to *exalt* the Irish church, he might perhaps take this offer, for the sake of cooperating with him therein: but, *there being no such intention*, he chose to remain a private man, rather than to be useless in an eminent station.”

It

It was this zeal for the *exaltation*, not of the Irish church alone, but of the whole Christian priesthood, which probably was the cause of his not being raised to any higher dignity than the archdeaconry of Brecknock, though he falsely imputes it to a prejudice against him because he was a Welshman: for Henry had shewn, by the favours he bestowed on the Geraldine family, that no such narrow partiality obstructed the advancement of merit in his reign. And some merit, as a man of learning, Giraldus certainly had: but his mind was so tinctured with the principles of Becker, that it would not have been prudent to let him possess an episcopal see in England. I even incline to believe, that his having been sent into Ireland by Henry, as an attendant on John, was not so much for the sake of any instructions, which he could give to that prince, as from a desire, by promoting and fixing him there, to remove out of England a troublesome and dangerous ecclesiastick. But he disappointed this purpose by refusing the offers so liberally made in Ireland by John, and never had one in England; to the want of which I ascribe that rancorous hatred, which shews itself against Henry in some of his writings, after the death of that king.

I shall now proceed to relate, without interruption, what remains to be told of the foreign affairs of this reign, amidst the continued agitation of which Henry ended his life.

All the ardour of the French for the present crusade, in the first beginnings of it, could not preserve the internal peace of France! Duke Richard himself, the foremost to engage in that religious warfare, was constrained, with the cross upon his breast, to draw his sword against his own vassals in the dutchy of Aquitaine, presently after his father's return into England, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-eight. For, Geoffrey de Lu-

Diceto, col.
639.
Benedict.
Abb. ad ann.
1188.

signan,

signan, a brother to the king of Jerusalem, following the example of that prince, had, on some private quarrel, perfidiously killed a gentleman of Poitou, whom Richard had honoured with an intimate share of his friendship. The duke flew to revenge him: but the criminal was assisted by all the lords of his kindred, a numerous race of nobles, the terror and pest of that country, who, confederating together in frequent deeds of blood, in murders and rebellions, maintained their own greatness, and drew to their aid other barons, whom fear of punishment, from a consciousness of having deserved it, impelled to faction for safety, or who hated Richard on account of former chastisements inflicted on them by him, or of former wrongs he had done them. Yet all the strength of their league was unequal to the power and valour of that prince. He took and demolished their castles, set fire to their towns, and rooted up all their vines and other fruit-trees on their lands; by which destruction the laws and customs of those times punished felonies and rebellions. Geoffery de Lusignan saved his life by flying out of France, from whence he went by sea to Tripoli, where his brother Guy then resided. Among his accomplices none were spared by the duke, except those who redeemed themselves from the fury of his vengeance, by taking the cross, as many of them did. Having speedily crushed this rebellion, he led his troops to attack the earl of Toulouse, son and successor to that prince against whom he had made war in the year eleven hundred and eighty-six. This earl, at the instigation of Peter Seï'un, his favourite, had arrested some merchants, who came into his country (perhaps to carry on a forbidden commerce there) from Richard's adjacent domains, and had treated them very cruelly, keeping many of them in close prison, depriving some of their eyes, and others of their lives. In revenge

Galf. de Vi-
niauf. l. i. c.
25.

Diceto, &
Bened. Ct.
Abbas,
ut supra.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden,
Gervase, ad
ann. 1188.

venge of this injury done to his subjects, the duke, more inclined to seek redress by arms than by any other methods, laid waste the earl's lands, and carried off many captives; but his most important prize was the favourite, Seilun, for whom he asked such a ransom, as the prisoner could not pay, and would be a heavy tax on the bounty of his master, if paid by that prince. To save himself this expence, the earl seized the persons of two English gentlemen, belonging to the king of England's own household, who were passing through Toulouse, on their return from a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, and, after they had been confined some time, sent one of them to the duke, with a power to treat for the liberty of both, on condition that Seilun should be also released. But this proposal was refused, and with good reason, by Richard, because pilgrims were supposed to be under the sacred protection of the saint, whose shrine they visited, and their persons were privileged, by the custom of those times, in going and returning. The king of France, whom this quarrel, which he wished to see composed, had drawn into those parts, agreed with Richard in this point, and ordered the earl to set the two pilgrims free, out of respect to St. James. Yet that prince still insisted on their being redeemed by the release of his imprisoned minister: whereupon Philip left him to make a peace for himself, or sustain the war as he could. Richard then, being free to obtain by force of arms the justice he demanded, hired Brabanters, with whom, joined to his military vassals of the duchy of Aquitaine, he composed a great army, and in a very short time took the city of Cahors, the strong castle of Moissac, all the province of Quercy, and seventeen castles in the neighbourhood of Toulouse. The earl, fearing the loss of his capital itself, implored the aid of Philip: whence it may be presumed (though I do

not

*Dicet.
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.
Gervase, ad
ann. 1188.*

not find it mentioned) that he had freed the two pilgrims; as without doing this, he could not well expect a favourable answer. Philip chose, hereupon, to negotiate with Henry, rather than with Richard, and sent complaints to that king of Richard's dispossessing the earl of his territory, and violating the peace of the kingdom of France, which the sovereign was obliged at all times to maintain, but more especially now, when a crusade was begun. Henry answered very truly, that none of these things had been done by his advice, or even with his consent. But Philip marched into Berry, where he knew that Chateauroux and other places of importance would be quietly yielded to him, by the treachery of the citizens and nobles of that province, whom he had secretly gained, and that some were not able to make any resistance, expecting no attack. Accordingly, most of the towns and fortresses in that country opened their gates to receive him; and by similar arts he also gained possession of the town and district of Vendôme.

When Henry enquired for what reason he was robbed of these territories by that king, who, even before their uniting in the crusade, had, by a public, solemn act, preparatory to it, engaged to protect them against all other powers, the answer made to him was, that Philip had done it to revenge the wrongs which he and the earl of Toulouse had received from Duke Richard. But that prince assured his father (and probably told him no falsehood) that he had done nothing without Philip's permission, grounded on the perverse refusal of the earl to accept a peace offered to him. Henry therefore sent Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, to represent to that monarch the injustice of his conduct, and the inconsistency of it with his former covenants upon oath, and the sacred vow he had made. But he
hardly

hardly vouchsafed to give them an audience, and, when he did, was unmoved with all their remonstrances and all their exhortations. This forced the king of England, much against his inclinations, to hasten back into France. On the 11th of July he landed at Barfleur, from whence he went to Alençon, where an army of Normans, (which John, whom he had sent, for that purpose, before him, had already assembled) was joined to another, composed of English and Welsh brought over by his orders.

It is certain that Philip's attacking of Berry, in the manner above-mentioned, was not (as some modern historians have surmized) concerted with Richard: for that prince, while his father was detained in England, led an army to oppose the French in that province, and, on the retreat of their king, who did not stay to face him, laid waste the domains of the earls and barons there, whom Philip had seduced from their fealty to Henry, and took many of them prisoners. He also made himself master of a very strong castle not far distant from Vendôme, in which were twenty-five knights and forty men at arms, besides archers and foot-soldiers. After Henry's arrival, the bishop of Beauvais first, and then the king of France himself, burned some castles and towns on the borders of Normandy. But Henry, desirous to free himself from the blame of willingly making this war, and to comply with the forms established in those days, when vassals were forced to fight, in defence of their rights, against their sovereigns, sent a message to Philip, demanding restitution of what had been taken from him, and, if this was refused, renouncing the allegiance he owed to that monarch for the fiefs he held in his kingdom, and declaring he would treat him, from henceforth, as an enemy. To which Philip replied, that he would not sheath his sword, till he had subdued and

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
p. 516, 517.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1188.

Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
p. 516, 517.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1188.

and annexed to his royal domain the entire provinces of Berry and the Norman Vexin. When this answer was received, Henry put himself at the head of a powerful army, entered into the French Vexin, and ravaged the whole country from Gisors as far as to the gates of Mante. Philip did not oppose him: but a party of French horse under William des Barres, and Drogo de Merlou, meeting Richard and the earl of Albemarle, with the knights of Henry's household, in the neighbourhood of Mante, a sharp combat ensued, in which Des Barres, who was called *The Achilles of France*, was unhorsed by Richard and taken; but, having given his word of honour, as a prisoner, and therefore not being guarded, while Henry's soldiers were intent on securing other captives, he mounted his page's horse, and made his escape; which fixed such a stain upon his reputation, as could not be removed by all the glory he gained upon other occasions.

Col. Armo-
ricus de
gestis Phil.
Aug. ad
ann. 1188.
Brito Philip-
pides,
Benedict.
Abb.

This action happened about the latter end of August, and a few days afterwards Henry, not venturing to attempt the siege of Mante, retired to Ivery, and permitted his son Richard to return into Berry, where that prince, whose active mind was eager on new projects, proposed to do him good service. The next day, his Welsh forces pillaged and burned to the ground the castle of Damville, and many other towns or villages in the territory of Philip, and killed all the men they found therein; while the earl of Albemarle, at the head of another detachment, set fire to the town of St. Clair sur Epte, and destroyed a fine garden which the king of France had planted with his own hands.

These were barbarous methods of carrying on a war; but, that very day, an embassy came from Philip, to offer Henry peace, with a restitution of all which he had lost in Berry. This proposal soon afterwards

afterwards brought on a conference between the two monarchs, in a plain near Gisors, which was open and entirely destitute of shade, except in one part, adjacent to the castle, where stood an ancient elm, of an extraordinary size and beauty, under the branches of which a great number of men might be easily sheltered at any hour of the day from the heat of the sun. Many conferences had been held, in ancient times, on this plain, between the kings of France and the dukes of Normandy; and, probably, when their quarrels were inflamed by no resentments of a personal nature, the shade of this tree, though the land on which it grew belonged to the Normans, was made equally serviceable to the chiefs of both nations, who met and talked beneath it. But, the present animosity between Henry and Philip being greater than usual, the former stood, with his nobles, under the canopy of the spreading boughs, protected from the heat, which at this time was extreme, while the latter and his nobles were rudely suffered to endure the violence of it without any shelter. After disputing two days, the French, impatient of this affront to their king, and further provoked by the petulant raillery of some of Henry's attendants, attacked them sword in hand. Henry fled to the castle, but in passing the bridge, many of those who endeavoured to secure his escape were killed or drowned. Philip, master of the field, commanded the tree to be cut down; which being done, he departed, and returned to a castle within his own borders.

Yet, notwithstanding these marks of a hostile temper on both sides, the war did not go on: for the earls of Flanders and Blois, with other nobles of France, plainly declared to the king, that it was a resolution taken by them all, to lay down their arms, and use them no more against Christians, till after their return from the crusade. Some notice

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden.
ad ann. 1188.

notice of this had probably been the cause of his offering peace before, and it forced him to desire another meeting with Henry, on the 7th of October, which was not refused by that prince; but nothing was settled, because Richard, whom his father had recalled out of Berry, where he had made a fruitless attempt to recover Chateauroux, objected to a general restitution proposed as the basis of the treaty, alledging that Cahors and the other places gained by him in the earldom of Toulouse, being held in the demesne, produced to him a revenue of more than a thousand marks a year, which he would not give up, to purchase the restitution of castles and baronies, the fruits of which would accrue to those who held them under him by a military tenure. His father also refused to deliver up to Philip the castle of Pacey, which that king had demanded as a security for the peace. This interview therefore proved as ineffectual as the former, and Philip, though deserted by almost all his nobles, renewed hostilities against Henry by the help of some Brabanters, at the head of whom he took a castle in Berry: but, a body of these troops having mutinied for their pay, he promised to give it them in the city of Bourges, and having thus drawn them thither, secretly ordered his forces in garrison there to seize their arms and horses; which disabling them to resist, he took from them also the money they had just received, with all they had besides, and turned them out almost naked: a useful example of terror to the mercenaries of those days!

Diceto, col.
641.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden,
ut supra.

Gul. Ar-
morie.
Rigord.
W. Brito
Philippiat.
Diceto, ad
ann. 1188.

Winter now coming on, no farther operations of war were attempted by either of the parties: but the campaign being over, Richard pressed that his marriage with the princess Adelais might be no longer deferred. What excuse Henry found for denying his request, or evading the performance, we are not told: but, probably, he might urge

urge the impropriety of contracting so close an alliance with Philip before peace was concluded; and it might be with a view to remove this objection, that Richard sent, at this time, an offer to that monarch of attending his court of justice, and submitting all disputes with the earl of Toulouse to their judgment. The proposal was fair; but Henry was not pleased with it, objecting, I presume, to the partiality of the judges, as Philip had before taken part in the controversy on the side of the earl. Another plausible reason for delaying Richard's marriage, was his having engaged in the crusade: but, if this was used by Henry, it had no effect on that prince. He insisted, that the ceremony should instantly be concluded, and was strongly backed by Philip, who likewise joined him in requiring that an oath of fealty to him, as heir apparent to his father, should be taken by all Henry's liege subjects in England, and in all his transmarine dominions.

Benedict.
Alb.
Hov. den, ad
ann. 1198.

It has been shewn in this work, that such an acknowledgment of the right of succession, and security for it, had always been given to the eldest son of the king, from the time of Henry the First inclusively. It had been given to the elder brother of Richard before he was *crowned*; and, though Henry had good reasons for not *crowning* Richard, he could have none for denying him the customary assurance of his claim of inheritance, unless he meant to leave by his last will and testament, or to grant, in his life-time, some part of his territories to his youngest son, John. And, probably, he did wish, that either Anjou or Aquitaine should be made over to that prince. But Richard, not inclined to relinquish any portion of what he was heir to, either from his father or mother, desired to have the whole secured by the oaths of the vassals, and, for the sake of engaging the king of France to assist him in this important object, urged

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1188.
Diceto, col.
641.
Gervase, col.
1536, 1537.

the marriage with his sister, which he had never till now very eagerly sought, but had rather seemed to avoid. In this temper of mind, he accompanied Henry, on the eighth of November, to a conference with that monarch, where, in concert with him, Philip offered a restitution of all he had taken if Henry would deliver Adelaïs to Richard, and let that prince receive, from all his several vassals, the oaths of fealty he asked. Henry's answer was short, that he would not yield to either of these propositions in the present state of things, when it might seem that he did it not spontaneously, but by force. The first day's conference passed with some decency on all sides: in the second the words grew high and warm: but in the third the debates were accompanied with such menaces, that the knights who were present laid their hands on their swords. The mediation of the prelates with difficulty prevented the instant effects of this rage, and prolonged the truce till the feast of St. Hilary next ensuing. After this had been settled, Richard, turning to his father, who stood, with the king of France and the archbishop of Rheims, in the midst of a numerous circle of people, entreated that, at least, his right of inheriting the kingdom of England might be secured to him: and Henry, giving him such an answer as was not satisfactory, he said, "I now see, that a report, which I thought incredible, is likely to be true;" and then turning to Philip, did homage to that king for Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, and all the other fiefs which Henry held in France, yet with a reserve of the fealty he owed to his father. Philip promised, in return, to restore to him all the conquests made in Berry, or elsewhere, by his forces, this year. Henry, confounded at what he saw and heard, broke off the conference, and sending Geoffrey, his natural son, into Anjou, with instructions to take care of the fortresses in that province, went himself

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden,
ad ann.
1188.

himself into Aquitaine to provide for the speedy defence of that country.

Richard's words to his father alluded to a current report in France, that Henry's intention was, to crown John king of England. This was certainly false: but the arts of Henry's enemies, and particularly of Philip, had prevailed to infuse some jealousies of it into the mind of the duke; and his father's reluctance to give him even the usual and proper security of his right of succession to the crown of that realm so much increased his suspicion, that he became quite dependant on the king of France for support against this supposed danger, and as hostile to his father as his eldest brother had been in the height of rebellion. Perhaps the chief reason of Henry's obstinacy in this matter, was a desire, that his having rejected the peace offered to him by Philip might not be wholly imputed to his averfeness from marrying Adelaïs to Richard, which was indeed the true cause, and of such a nature as would bend to no considerations of interest or of safety.

The truce, which had been protracted till the feast of St. Hilary in the year eleven hundred and eighty-nine, was no sooner expired, than incursions were made into Henry's French dominions by Philip and Richard. The latter prince had drawn with him into this rebellion all the army raised by him in the duchy of Aquitaine for the service of his father. Ranulph de Fougères, an inveterate enemy of that king, and other nobles of Bretagne, were also induced to confederate against him. But, after the Easter holidays, the truce was renewed by the powerful mediation of a cardinal legate, who now arrived in France, and interposed all the weight of the papal authority to stop the effects of this discord, which obstructed the accomplishment of that pious enterprize, wherein all the three princes had by their vows been engaged.

During this period, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, was sent by Henry to Richard, with a view to bring him into a separate treaty, and detach him from Philip; but he obstinately refused to hear that prelate. Nevertheless the two kings consented to stand to the judgment of the legate, and of the archbishops of Rheims, of Bourges, of Rouen, and of Canterbury, concerning all their disputes, under the penalty of immediate excommunication, which the legate was to inflict, in the name of the pope, on either of those monarchs, who should not obey the decree of the said arbitrators, *as an enemy to the cross of Christ and to the whole Christian faith.* For this decision a conference was appointed to be held at La Ferté Bernard, a town in Maine, eight days after Whitsuntide; and a great assembly of nobles attending there on each prince, Philip declared in few words (as it was not his custom to use many) *that he was ready to restore all his conquests to Henry, if that king would restore to him his sister Adelais, whom he had now kept in close custody almost twenty years, from the time when her father had delivered her to him as a wife for his son Richard.* That prince also claimed her as promised in marriage, and he further required, that some security should be given for his right of succession to the kingdom of England, and that his brother John should go with him to the holy war, instead of his father; without which condition, he said, he would not go. In these demands he was strongly abetted by Philip; but Henry rejected them all; and it seems that the prelates, to whose judgment both kings had bound themselves to submit, did not agree in their sentence: for, though peace was not made, no excommunication went forth against either of those princes. But the legate threatened Philip to lay all his dominions under an interdict, by virtue of his own power, if he did not compose all his
diffe-

Grasse, col.

1-43, 544.

Benedict.

Ab. t. ii.

P. 541, 542.

differences with Henry. That monarch replied, “*that he was not afraid of his sentence, and would have no regard to it, as it had no just foundation. For the see of Rome had no right to exercise any authority of this nature, against the realm of France, on account of its sovereign’s having taken up arms, for the honour of his crown, against his offending and rebellious vassals.*” Remarkable words! to which he likewise added, *that the legate had smelt to the king of England’s sterlings.* And thus the conference ended with much anger on all sides.

If Philip had stopped at his first demand upon Henry, which was that his sister should be restored to him, or had only abetted Richard in demanding that princess, and security for his rightful succession in England, according to the custom of those times, it would have been very difficult for Henry to resist any of those propositions. For it must have seemed most unjust any longer to detain Adela’s from her brother, or from her intended husband, when peace and a compleat restitution of the territories lost by that king were offered for her freedom. And, whatever might be urged for leaving him a power to give or bequeath to John any feudal dominions, possessed by him in France, now, when Richard’s demand was limited to England, nothing could be objected to the letting him have an acknowledgment of his claim to inherit that kingdom, if there was no intention (and one cannot suppose there was any) to defeat his succession. But it was not so clear, that Henry ought to content to expose *both his sons* to the danger of the holy war, or, having taken the cross, withdraw himself from that service, which he had vowed to perform. This gave him a pretence to put a negative on the whole, and break off the treaty; which he was the less afraid to do, as the blame of the rupture, by the favour of the legate, which he had found means to gain,

gain, would be laid by the see of Rome, not on him, but on Philip. Yet in taking this part, he ran such risks, as he probably wou'd have avoided, if reason, not passion, had determined his conduct. For he now could oppose to Richard and Philip only a part of that army, which he and Richard had opposed, the year before, to Philip. Ranulph de Glanville indeed had lately brought him over a body of Welshmen: but these only replaced others, whom he had dismissed from his service about the beginning of the last winter. He therefore sent that minister back into England, with orders to summon all his military tenants to come and serve him in France, without excusing any on account of inability to bear the charge. While these levies were making, the earldom of Maine was attacked by Philip and Richard. Henry could not keep the field against a much superior army; but he threw himself into Mans with the best of his forces. The situation of this town, on the confluence of two rivers, the Sarte and the Huines, made it very defensible, and he promised the citizens that he would defend it to the utmost extremity. Philip and Richard, having easily taken all the forts in the northern parts of Maine, made a feint of intending to go and besiege Tours, but, on a sudden, turned short, and came before Mans, where they were not expected. On the first appearance of them, the seneschal of Anjou set fire to the suburbs. Presently afterwards the wind changed, and becoming very violent carried the flames to the town. Geoffrey de Bruillon, at the head of some of Henry's forces, tried to break down a stone bridge, laid over the Sarte; but, before he could effect it, was attacked by the French. The fight here was maintained with great valour on both sides, till, Bruillon being wounded and taken prisoner, his men lost their courage and fled into the city, which the enemy entered with them

Gervase, col.
1544.

Brimton,
col. 1150.
Benedict
Abb. Hove-
den, ad
ann. 1189.

Th

The rage of the fire, which every moment encreased, notwithstanding all the efforts of the citizens and the soldiers, occasioned such confusion and such terror among them, that Henry, seeing no means to stop the conflagration and drive out the enemy, gathered about him those troops that still continued unbroken, and quitting the town, retired with seven hundred horse and a body of Welsh foot, towards the castle of Freuelles, situated to the south of the river Huines. Philip pursued him three miles, and killed many of his Welsh; but he and the horsemen were saved by going over a ford not well known to the French, who therefore stopped the pursuit, and returning to Mans besieged the tower, which they took on the third day, and in it thirty knights of the king of England's household, who had thrown themselves into it with sixty men at arms.

During this interval, Henry got out of the reach of any instant danger. At the end of the first day, he came to Frénelles, full of shame and vexation, at having been forced to turn his back to his enemy, which he had never done before, and to abandon a city, wherein was interred the body of his father, which had been his own birth-place, which he had always loved more than any other in France, and which he had confidently assured the inhabitants he should be able to maintain, with the troops there assembled, against any assaults. His son, the lord chancellor, who had distinguished himself in resisting the enemy and the flames at Mans, as long as they could be resisted, now offered to keep watch, fatigued and spent as he was, in an outpost near Frenelles, while his father slept there, lest the French should come up and surprize him in the night: but Henry would not suffer him to be his guard with so much danger to himself: on the contrary, he ordered him to come into the castle; and, sleeping himself in the cloaths

which

Girald.
Cambr. de
vitâ Galf.
archiepiscopi
Ebor. pars
ii. c. 4. 5.
Benedict.
Abb. t. ii.
p. 543.

which he had worn all day, laid him in his own bed; because, in the hurry of quitting Mans, his bed-cloaths had been lost with the rest of the baggage, and the castle afforded no more. At break of day the king, attended by a small train, went from Frenelles into Anjou, after having bound by an oath William de Mandeville, earl of Albemarle, and the seneschal of Normandy, in case of his decease, to deliver to prince John all the fortresses of that dutchy. The chancellor had his orders to go with the main body of his forces to Alençon, and leaving most of them there, for the security of that province, rejoin him at Savigni, with a troop of a hundred chosen knights: the latter part of which commission was not executed by this lord without extreme danger; almost all the interjacent roads being guarded by the enemy's forces, before he could return from Normandy into Anjou. After their meeting, his father, committing to him the care of defending that earldom, went to Chinon in Touraine, and from thence to Saumur.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden,
ad ann. 1189.

Gul. Armo-
ricus & Ri-
gor. de pestis
Phil. Aug.
ad ann. 1189.
apud Du-
ch f.c.

In the mean time, Philip and his confederate, Richard, had, with little opposition, taken many strong places, and advancing from Amboise, which was one of their conquests, posted themselves on the northern bank of the Loire, directly over-against the city of Tours. On their approach, the stone-bridge, built over that great river, had been broken down by the townsmen; but, it being observed, that the water, from the dryness of the season, was much lower than usual, Philip thought it might be practicable to ford it in some part, and sounding it himself with his lance, from the back of his horse, found his conjecture confirmed: whereupon he marked the space, within which the shallows lay, by two erected spears, and commanded all his troops to pass over betwixt them, going foremost himself. The attempt proved successful: he did not lose a man; and his whole baggage, with his train

train of battering engines, was landed without the least mischance. The walls on that side being low, and not fortified with towers, (as the river was usually impassable by an army) while Philip was examining where he should place the engines he had brought, the French infantry in his service, impatient of delay, scaled the walls, and instantly entered the town. The lives and goods of the unresisting citizens were saved by the king; and the soldiers of the garrison, who had retired precipitately into the castle, were made prisoners of war.

Thus, on the eve of St. John Baptist, by the fortunate accident of the Loire's being shrunk beneath its usual depth, did Philip take this strong city, which might otherwise have sustained a much longer siege, having in it, besides the citizens and the archers, eighty knights and a hundred of their squires or attendants, who were all men at arms. This event determined Henry to agree to a plan of pacification, which, the day before it happened, the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbishop of Rheims, had brought to him at Saumur, rather as mediators between him and Philip, than as ministers of that king, who was more inclined, at this time, to continue a war which he made with great advantage, than to accept what they offered. Yet, out of respect to their persons, and to the vow he had taken, he did not refuse it, but allowed them to treat in his name; only giving them notice, that, while they were negotiating, he would prosecute, with his utmost power and strength, his enterprize against Tours, the success of which proved decisive: for, after one or two conferences, Henry yielded to meet him at a place in Touraine, on the twenty-eighth of June, in order to ratify the peace offered to him. Unhappily, we have no record of the treaty, and some articles of it are differently given by contemporary authors.

V. Authores
citatos ut
suprà.

Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1189.

Diceto, ad
ann. 1189.

Diceto, col.
644, 645.
Benedict.
Abb.
Hoveden, ad
ann. 1189.

thors. The best account I am able to collect from them is, that all which Henry had lost was restored to him, except Mans, Tours, and two castles, which were to be kept, as pledges for the execution thereof, in the custody of Philip and Richard, if Henry did not rather chuse to deliver to them the fortresses of Gisors, Pacey and Nonancourt, for the same purpose. Henry was to pay to Philip the sum of twenty thousand marks, which Diceto says, was demanded by way of indemnification for the expences of repairing and fortifying Chateauroux, incurred by that king after he had possession of it: but I think it more likely, that it was a satisfaction for the general charges of the war. Oaths of fealty to Richard were to be taken by all the vassals of Henry, saving their faith to the latter. Diceto tells us, that Adelais was to be put into the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, or of the archbishop of Rouen, or of William de Mandeville, earl of Essex and Albemarle, and, after the return of Philip from the Holy Land, was to be delivered to him, in order to be married according to his advice. But the abbot of Peterborough and Roger de Hoveden say, that she was to be brought into France, and put into the custody of one of five persons whom Richard was to name, with an assurance, on the oaths of the freeholders of the country where she was to reside, that she should be immediately delivered to him, upon his return from Palestine. The former account appears the most probable of the two, because it did not so directly give Henry's consent to her marriage with Richard. But, either way, the putting off the accomplishment of that marriage till one of those princes should come back from a distant and very dangerous war, was a point gained by Henry; as, during that term, some favourable accidents might intervene, to change the state of things, and free him from the difficulty he would have been under,
if

if Philip had insisted, that her hand should be instantly given to the duke.

Some lesser matters, not worth particularising here, are mentioned by authors, as articles of this treaty. Diceto adds, that the faith of both monarchs was plighted to the archbishop of Rheims, before they departed from this interview, that they would meet again, next year, at Vezelay, about the middle of Lent, in order to perform the solemn vow they had made to go to the Holy War, *unless a change of their purpose by the consent of both nations, or some infirmity proved by the testimony of persons of good reputation, should be an impediment to it.* It is probable this reserve was desired by Henry, whose health had been weak for some time. At the conclusion, the homage, which that prince had renounced at the breaking out of the war, was renewed by him to Philip; and (as no exception is mentioned) he certainly did it in the same extent as before, for all his feudal territories subject to this king.

A contemporary writer says, that Philip, in this conference, reconciled Richard with Henry, but could not reconcile John, who was then making war, in another part of France, against his father. And almost all the historians of that age agree, that, after the taking of Mans, John did join in the league which Henry's enemies had concluded. This desertion must have been the sudden effect of some offers, made to him by his brother, in which he thought he should better find his account, than in any benefits which his father, who was not likely to live long, could effectually bestow. And I think it more probable, that intelligence sent to Henry of his having taken arms against him in Normandy informed that king of his treason, than that he learnt it, (as Hoveden says he did) by Philip's communicating to him a list of an association against him, at the head of which was Prince John.

Wilhelm.
Brito Ar-
morius
Philippidos,
l. ii. f. 134.

John. In whatever manner he knew it, the knowledge proved fatal. The agitation of his mind had lately been too great for a body grown infirm. He was now in the fifty-seventh year of his age. Those passions which have naturally the most hurtful effects on the human constitution, anger and grief, tore his heart. In his quarrel with Richard he had not been wholly blameless, and a sense of this made the evils, it had brought upon him, more painful. But the enormous ingratitude, and horrible perfidy of his most beloved son, whose exaltation he was eagerly, and dangerously for himself, endeavouring to procure, gave him a much deeper wound, the anguish of which, concurring with the shame of receiving terms of peace, imposed by his enemies, and mortifying to him, though not very grievous, threw him into a fever. The day after the last conference he was carried in a litter to the castle of Chinon, and there took to his bed. His son, the chancellor, had obtained his leave to be absent, when the treaty was signed, that he might not be a witness to his humiliation; but, being informed of his illness, he hastened to Chinon, and finding him so oppressed with the violence of the fever, that he could not sit up in his bed, he raised his head by supporting it upon his own bosom. Henry fetched a deep sigh, and turning his languid eyes upon him said, "My dear-
 "est son, as you have, in all changes of fortune,
 "behaved yourself most dutifully and affection-
 "ately to me, doing all that the best of sons
 "could do, so will I, if the mercy of God shall
 "permit me to recover from this sickness, make
 "such returns to you, as the best of fathers can
 "make, and place you among the greatest and
 "most powerful subjects in all my dominions.
 "But, if death shall prevent my fulfilling this in-
 "tention, may God, to whom the recompense of
 "all goodness belongs, reward you for me." "I
 "have

Girald.
 Cambrenf.
 de vitâ Galf.
 archiepisc p.
 Ebor. pars i.
 c. 5. in An-
 gliâ sacrâ.

" have no wish (replied the son) but that you may recover and be happy : " after which words he rose up, and, unable to restrain his gushing tears, left the room. Yet, hearing soon that no hopes of life remained, he returned to perform the last duties to his father, who, roused from a kind of trance by the lamentations he uttered, opened his eyes, which had been for some time closed, and, knowing his son, made an effort, with a faint and almost extinguished voice, to express a desire, that he should obtain the bishoprick of Winchester, or rather the archbishoprick of York. Then taking from his finger a ring of great value, which he before had intended to present to his son-in-law, the king of Castile, he gave it to this lord with his last blessing, and commanded that another, which was kept in his treasury as his most precious jewel, should be also delivered to him. After this he sunk down, and in a short time expired.

THERE is no prince to whose character that of Henry the Second has a greater resemblance, or with whom, in all points, he can more fitly be compared, than his grandfather, Henry the First, king of England. They both had the glory of reforming and amending the state of their kingdom, and were equally careful, that, in all their dominions, the administration of justice to all orders of men should be strict and impartial. It is hard to say whether they merited greater praise for enacting good laws, or enforcing, by the vigilance and firmness of their government, a due obedience to them. Yet this difference must be noted, that in punishing all offences against his own person, Henry the First was implacably and inhumanly rigorous ; but his grandson's severity was exercised only in behalf of his people and the publick weal of his realm. Among the noblest acts of clemency, that have ever embellished the history of mankind,

Comparison
between
King Henry
the First
and King
Henry the
Second.

kind, are those done by this prince. Some of them indeed might be thought, in the judgment of cool reason, to have greatly exceeded the proper bounds of this virtue, if peculiar circumstances had not rendered the extension of it necessary for the future safety of those who had done him faithful service against his three sons, and their rebellious adherents. But how amiable was the man, who, when infinitely provoked, could sacrifice, to this distant and uncertain apprehension of danger to his friends, the present pleasure of taking that revenge on his enemies which publick justice required!

The same maxims of policy were adopted and pursued by both these kings. Henry the Second restored the charter of liberties, which his grandfather had given, as a declaration of rights, to the English and Normans. But in the grandson the act was more meritorious; as his title was less doubtful than Henry the First's, who may be said to have purchased his brother's crown of the nation, by the only bribe which a nation can honourably take, a restoration of freedom. What necessity appears to have drawn from that prince, this spontaneously gave when the throne was open to him without a competitor; nor did he ever discover, by his subsequent conduct, any desire of retracting or impairing the boon so generously conferred; though means and opportunities, which were wanting to his ancestor, occurred to him many times, in the prosperous years of his reign, when fortune put his virtue to the hardest of all tests, by enabling him to enlarge or continue his power under its first limitations, according to his own choice.

The marriage of Henry the First with Edgar Atheling's niece, was contracted on the best of political motives, a desire to cement the Normans and the English, the victorious and the vanquished,

ed, into one people; which generous purpose was well pursued by his grandson, in taking away all distinctions, even of favour and trust, between the two nations. The merit of having done this, and having also extended the benignity of his government to Stephen's adherents, after these had concurred with the friends of his mother in placing the crown on his head, gives to Henry the Second a very eminent rank among those kings (few in every country) who have been benefactors, not to parties or factions, but to the whole community over which they reigned; and who, instead of desiring to rule by dividing, have built their power on uniting what before was divided.

Both these monarchs thought it necessary, for the safety of the crown, to raise up in its service *new men*, who, by the excellence of their talents, and the power given to them, might check the greatness of some of the antient nobility, and be a counterpoise to it. These they placed very high, but kept themselves still above them, having regal minds, which disdained to be under subjection to a servant's dominion, and regal abilities, fit to guide the helm of the state. Henry the Second, indeed, from the warmth of his temper, observed less moderation in his favour to Becket, than the rules of policy, grounded on a jealous distrust of mankind, and on observing how rarely gratitude dwells with ambition, prescribe to kings: of which error he felt the bad effects. Yet it does not appear, that Becket ever was able, in the utmost height of his credit, to induce him to alter his political system, or to follow any evil counsels, or to remove from his confidence any other minister, who had faithfully served him.

Nor did he suffer the policy of raising men of low birth, and making them the chief instruments of his administration, to go so far as to give any cause to his nobles, through the whole course of
his

his reign, to complain of an exclusion from his government or his counsels, or of such a depression as might justly offend that high spirit, which their rank, their wealth, their landed power, and the genius of the English constitution itself, had implanted and fixed in their minds. He never failed to assemble them, wheresoever he was in the kingdom, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; he consulted with them on all his greatest affairs; he conversed with them often, rather as a friend than a master; some of the highest (as the earls of Leicester and Arundel, at one period of time, and the earl of Essex, at another) he employed, with special trust, in the administration of his most important business. To the last, by the marriage of a ward of the crown in his custody, he gave a second great earldom, that of Albemarle. Other instances might be mentioned of his favour to the nobles, which shew that he thought the due support of their dignity essential to monarchy, and their lustre an addition to the splendor of the crown. Yet, at the same time, he made his power a shield to the lowest of his subjects against any oppression from them, and took all the care the most active inspection could take, that by him *the law* should reign, with equal authority, over all. The feudal ideas supposed, that every lord was, by office, the patron of his vassals, and the king of every lord; but he extended that patronage to every member of the whole commonwealth, as their common lord and father. The same conduct had endeared Henry the First to the people: but he rather was respected than loved by the nobles: whereas his grandson possessed the hearts of both, except such hearts as were steeled against any proper sense of affection or gratitude by the rage of ambition, or hated his person because they dreaded his justice.

Not-

Notwithstanding the superstition and bigotry of the times, these two princes considered their royal prerogatives in ecclesiastical matters, as a part of sovereignty from which their duty to their people, and therefore to God (for these duties can never stand in opposition to each other) would not suffer them to depart. Each was forced to contend with a primate of England raised by himself to that station, and with all the authority of the see of Rome, when that authority was become most imperious and most dreadful. Each exerted great spirit in this troublesome contest; but Henry the First concluded his quarrel with Anselm much more to his honour, than Henry the Second ended his with Becket; because the plan of the latter was interrupted and disturbed by the effects of his passions; whereas the former had no passions which prudence did not controul.

If we compare them as soldiers, the battles of Tinchebray and Breteville seem to throw a greater brightness of military glory on the former of these princes, who won them in person against Robert duke of Normandy, and Louis le Gros, king of France, than accrues to the latter from any actions of valour he personally performed: but, if the fame due to each be proportioned to the greatness of the advantages gained, Scotland and Ireland subjected to the sovereignty of England, give a higher reputation to Henry the Second, as a conqueror and a king, than his grandfather is entitled to, for having acquired by arms the feudal dominion of the dutchy of Normandy under homage to France. By the chance of war it fell out, that the duke of Normandy was a prisoner to one of these monarchs, and the king of Scotland to the other: both illustrious prizes! But, the captive of Henry the First being his own elder brother, from whom, not contented with

the cession of England, he had also torn that dutchy, and whom he was forced, if he would not restore those dominions, to confine for life in a prison, a secret sting of remorse must have disturbed all his joy in that event. On the contrary, no triumph was ever more just, no satisfaction more pure, than that of Henry the Second, arising from the captivity and humiliation of William the Lion, who had invaded and barbarously ravaged his kingdom, without a war declared, and in aid of his son's most impious rebellion! All the victories gained by his generals or himself, over the chiefs of the rebels in England or abroad, and over their confederates, the earl of Flanders and the king of France, were rendered more happy to him, by his own internal sense of the goodness of his cause, and by an appearance, from circumstances of peculiar good fortune in most of these events, that the hand of God had fought for him, and laid his enemies at his feet.

How it happened that Ireland was not left by this prince in so perfect a state of subjection, and such a well-ordered constitution of government, as his glory required, has been explained in this work. The defects were caused by his having, much against his inclinations, departed from thence too soon, after his first entry there; by a number of impediments, which kept him from returning to settle it better himself; and by the insuperable difficulty of finding a lieutenant, who would not exercise his power, in the administration of it, with a hand too weak, or too strong. The intervention of the pope was a temporary assistance, but a perpetual taint to the justice of his claim, which might have been better founded on any other pretence. Happily length of possession, and ensuing compacts, independant on that preposterous grant, have cured this original error in the title, which the kings of England have maintained during

during six hundred years, to the sovereignty of that kingdom, first acquired and annexed to the English crown in this reign. The incorporating union between England and Scotland has likewise perfected the great work begun by Henry the Second, of making all Britain one empire, more honourably for the Scots, and more beneficially for the English, than if the feudal dominion, obtained by this king over that part of the island, had constantly been preserved.

The two princes, here compared, rather made a good use of fair and easy occasions of augmenting their greatness, which fortune presented to them, during the course of their reigns, than formed any vast projects, or exposed themselves to those perils which heroical spirits are desirous to encounter in the eager pursuit of renown. Nor did prosperity raise in the mind of either of them any insolence or presumption. But magnanimity in contending with difficulties and dangers, when they could not be avoided, appeared eminently in both.

It is hard to say, which was most unhappy as a father, Henry the First from having lost, by an unfortunate shipwreck, an only son, whom he loved, and who had not failed in his duty; or Henry the Second from the miserable end of his criminal eldest son, imploring his pardon in all the agonies and the horrors of a death-bed repentance. But the new, successive treasons of his three other sons, Geoffry, Richard, and John, made the latter a far more deplorable instance, even to the hour of his death, how ill the glitter of a crown and the pride of dominion compensate to princes the loss of domestic felicity, which is seldom their lot. Yet he had some consolation in the dutiful conduct of his natural son by Rosamond Clifford, whose filial piety softened his dying pangs.

V. G. Cambrenf. Hiber. Expugn. l. i. c. 45.

With equal talents from nature, both these kings were distinguished from any other in those times, by as much erudition as those times could give to them. Yet it did not infect them with the pedantry of the schools, or divert their thoughts from a due application to business, in which none of their ministers laboured with more diligence than they themselves. A contemporary writer informs us, that Henry the Second was well versed in the knowledge of history, and retaining, by the help of a prodigious memory, whatever he had learnt, could avail himself readily of the events of past times, no less than of his own experience in affairs, for the regulating of his conduct. This study must have been of great advantage to him. For the examples, which History sets before kings, are counsels to them, wherein they cannot suspect any interested purpose, and which give them no offence, though they tell them many truths of the highest importance without reserve or disguise. Probably this was the principal branch of literature, to which Henry the First, as well as his grandson, applied his attention; but we may be sure that these princes did not study the logic or subtle theology of that age, which would only have perplexed and narrowed their understandings, and have done them more harm than a total want of all learning.

The great sobriety, for which they both were remarkable, kept their reason always clear and their majesty unimpaired. But continence was a virtue neither of them could boast. Henry the Second took more care (especially after his marriage) to conceal his amours from the notice of the world, than Henry the First; and so far he did better: for decency in a king is respect to the publick. But they did not escape the jealous eyes of his queen; and her resentment at being neglected by a husband, she had loved too much
not

not to hate when he no longer loved her, brought upon him a great war, for the mischiefs of which he was therefore, in some degree, responsible to his people. A prince ought to be very cautious, that no passion should disturb the peace of his family, because any disorder there may endanger, by its consequences, the peace of his kingdom.

Another vice in the character of the last of these princes, was a strong propensity to sudden and immoderate anger. His grandfather's mind was more calm; but he was capable of retaining a deep and silent remembrance of his having been offended, and working out his revenge by slow and secret methods: whereas it does not appear, that, when the first heat of rage was cooled, there ever remained in the bosom of Henry the Second a deliberate or malicious desire of vengeance for any offence against himself, though of the most grievous nature.

The former is accused by some writers in that age, of having been too parsimonious; and his policy may have joined with his natural disposition to make him incur this reproach, by warning him that a king, whose title is doubtful, and whose competitor is supported by potent foreign allies, may often want money, and must always be as sparing, as the necessity of his great affairs will permit, in taking it from his subjects. But Henry the Second united the two opposite virtues, frugality and generosity; so happily tempering the one by the other, as to have a constant provision against danger or misfortune in the wealth of the treasury, yet never to lose the advantages, or the honour, which a prince may derive from liberality well directed. To merit and want he gave much; but nothing to importunity, nothing to flattery, and therefore he was not impoverished by his bounty.

Upon

Upon the whole, there appears in Henry the First a temper of mind more exempt from disorderly passions; but in Henry the Second a more generous and more benignant nature. The former had fewer faults; the latter greater virtues, and particularly those which in a king will atone for many imperfections, a cordial love of his people, and an active benevolence towards all mankind.

END of *the* HISTORY of *the* LIFE OF KING HENRY
THE SECOND, and of *the* AGE IN
WHICH HE LIVED.

I N D E X

TO THE

THIRD VOLUME.

A.
AARON, the rich Jew of Lincoln, his treasures are lost, between Shoreham and Dieppe, 458.

Adrian (the IVth), pope, grants a bull to Henry, by which, he confers on him the sovereignty of Ireland, 44—46. observations thereupon, 46—48.

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Alexander (the III), pope, receives an embassy from Henry, on the occasion of Becket's murder, 6—10. mediates between Henry and Louis, 119. confirms the election of Richard to the see of Canterbury, 160. at Henry's request, he sends cardinal Huguzon, his legate *à latere*, into England, 206. threatens to lay Henry's dominions under an interdict, if he does not permit Richard his son to marry Adalais, sister to the king of France, 316. reflections thereupon, 317, 318. his motives for encouraging Henry and Louis to take the cross, 323. he constitutes an

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- Ascalon*, taken by Baldwin III. king of Jerusalem, 290.
- Asculf de St. Hilaire* is dismissed by Henry from the service of Henry the young king, 110. is taken prisoner, 127.
- Asedoddin* declared foldan of Egypt, and succeeded by Saladin, his nephew, 295.
- Astrology*, pretended predictions of some Spanish ones, 443.
- Aumale*, surrenders to the rebels, 120.
- Auvergne*, in Berry, a dispute concerning it, between Henry and Louis, which shews, that inquisitions on the oaths of twelve men were, at this time, customary in France, 325.
- B.
- Baldwin* the Third, king of Jerusalem, wins from Nouredin, Alcalaon and Cæsarea, and recovers the important fortrefs of Harène, 290. defeats the Turks under his command, 291. his death, *ibid*.
- Baldwin* the Fourth, succeeds Amalarick, his father, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, 298. defeats Saladin, 319. intrusts Guy de Lusignan with the administration of public affairs, 421. assumes the reins of government, 437. his death, *ibid*.
- Baldwin* the Fifth, succeeds his uncle, and dies, after a reign of seven months, 456.
- Baliol*, Bernard de, assists Ranulph de Glanville, in taking the king of Scotland prisoner, 152.
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- Barre*, Richard de, is sent ambassador to pope Alexander III. 5. he delivers the great seal of Henry the young king to his father, 111.
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- Bauville*, Arnaud de, holds Châtillon on Agen, against duke Richard, 253.
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- Boamond*, son to Robert Guiscard, disputes the succession with his brother Roger, 267. obtains the principality of Antioch, 269.
- Bobun*, Humphry de, appointed by Henry governor of Waterford, 95. he joins Richard de Lucy, 130. marches against the rebels in Suffolk, 134. meets them at Fernham, defeats them, and takes the earl of Leicester prisoner, 135.
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- Brabanters*, they are employed by Henry in suppressing the rebellion of his sons, 117. excommunicated at the Lateran council, 339. hired by Henry the young king and his brother Geoffry, 385. are the means of preventing a reconciliation between those princes and their father, 393. they enter into the service of Philip king of France, 410. and mutinying on account of their arrears, are paid by that prince, and immediately after, by his orders, are stripped of their money, horses, and arms, 512.
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- Brouse*, William de, his cruelties towards the Welsh, 351.
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- Brock*, Ransulph de, receives Becket's writings and papers from his murderers, 2.
- Bryan Boro*, monarch of Ireland, his great abilities, 29. is killed at the battle of Clontarf, 31.
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- Canterbury*, Richard, prior of Dover, is elected archbishop of that see, 159. disputes concerning that election, 159. is appointed legate, 160. he convenes a synod of the prelates and clergy of his province, 179. justifies the conduct of the English bishops, 342. 343. he disapproves of ecclesiastical incroachments on the regal power, 344. 345. exhorts Henry the young king to return to his obedience, 392. his death and character, 412. is succeeded by Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, 413. disputes concerning his election, *ibid.* he remonstrates against the longer stay of the pope's legates in England, 457. preaches the crusade in Wales, 487. excommunicates Owen Cevilioc, a prince of that country, for not coming out to meet him, 488. his disputes with the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, 497—501.
- Cathari*, a set of hereticks in the south of France, some account of their religious tenets, and the proceedings against them, 334—338.
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- Chatillon*, Arnaud de, violates the truce between Saladin and the king of Jerusalem, 467. is put to death by Saladin, 472.
- Chester*, Hugh earl of, is made prisoner at Dol, 127. pardoned by Henry, and restored to all his possessions but his castles, 285. is appointed by Henry to assist prince John in the complete reduction of Ireland, and

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